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The Shape of Things

✶

THE EXTENT TO WHICH CHINA HAS BEEN unified by the Japanese invasion was graphically illustrated in the National Congress of the Kuomintang, which has just closed its sessions at Hankow. For the first time in many years there was no resolution denouncing the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek, who has come to be regarded as the symbol of the "united front," was granted the title of Tsung Tsai, second only to that held by Sun Yat-sen. Wang Ching-wei, leader of a right-wing clique previously regarded as pro-Japanese, was named Fu Tsung Tsai, a position ranking next to Chiang's in prestige. As a safeguard against excesses resulting from the concentration of power in the hands of Chiang, the congress yielded to the Communists' demand for the establishment of a People's Council with representatives from a broad section of the population. A decree was also issued guaranteeing free speech and assembly—privileges hitherto unknown in China. As a reflection of the growing cooperation of all groups, the Chinese army continues to give a good account of itself on the Hsüchow front in unusually heavy fighting. Although the Japanese made small gains at Taierchwang and Yihsien, they have nowhere succeeded in weakening the Chinese defenses. For the Japanese it has become a race against collapse. Far behind the lines, in Yunnan, Szechuan, Kansu, and Kwangsi, a new army and and air force are being created which, given time, will excel any that China has yet thrown into the battle.

✶

A SERIOUS CRISIS OVER THE MEXICAN OIL properties appears to have been averted as a result of Secretary Hull's wisdom in accepting at their face value President Cárdenas's assurances of payment. If the American government had chosen to apply diplomatic as well as economic pressure, it might have forced Mexico ultimately to restore the oil wells to their former owners. But in so doing it would have destroyed the progress which the Good Neighbor policy has brought about in recent years. For it is evident to the millions who live south of the Rio Grande that the Mexican government had no alternative under its laws but to seize the wells when the foreign companies refused to comply with court orders on basic labor policy. While newspapers in this country may use the term "confiscation" to describe the

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legal taking over of the properties, the Latin American press does not neglect to point out that the Mexican government has never deviated from its intent to pay in full. Whether a practical means of payment can be devised is another question, the answer to which obviously depends on our willingness to accept compensation in the two products which Mexico is prepared to export—oil and silver. The fact that the American oil companies have always been content to take their profits from their Mexican holdings in the form of oil should make it difficult for them to refuse payment in this commodity.

*

THE PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE AMERICAN Telegraph and Telephone Company, prepared under the direction of Paul A. Walker of the Federal Communications Commission, is surprisingly mild in its charges against America's No. 1 monopoly. The relatively high rates of the Bell system are attributed chiefly to excessive charges for depreciation, generous pensions for executives, and exorbitant payments to the Western Electric Company for equipment. Profits averaging about $10 a share are also shown to be far beyond those of enterprises not enjoying monopoly privileges. But it is not suggested that the A. T. and T. has indulged in practices that would be regarded as "unethical" by usual business standards. In contrast to the electric and gas utilities, there is no evidence here of fraud or financial chicanery in corporate financing. Nevertheless, a monopoly exists which, according to the report, is charging American consumers at least 25 per cent more than is reasonable for its telephone service. State regulation is shown to have been largely ineffective in preventing or restricting monopoly practices, and an appeal is made for detailed and rigid federal control by the FCC itself. Presumably a final report will ultimately be made. Meanwhile we are driven to a conclusion which is no more final than the report—namely, that an undue amount of time and money seems to have been spent in discovering little that was not already known about the A. T. and T.

*

WHILE PUBLIC ATTENTION WAS CENTERED on the verdict in the Electric Bond and Share case, the Supreme Court handed down another decision vigorously affirming one of our major liberties. In holding unconstitutional a local Georgia statute requiring a license for leaflet distribution the court took away a favorite weapon of reactionary officials. The decision has immediate bearing on such cities as Jersey City and Dearborn, Michigan, where licensing laws have been equivalent to outright suppression of progressive leaflets. When the court's action became known, Mayor Hague was still innocently sporting on a Florida beach; so the police of Jersey City faltered in a fog of indecision for nearly two days. They halted a new attempt to distribute leaflets with the explanation that they were "enforcing the Jersey City ordinance, not the Constitution." But this nice point must have seemed a little frail even to Mayor Hague; his corporation counsel finally conceded that the Constitution applied even to the autonomous republic of Jersey City. We may anticipate the same capitulation in Dearborn, where the police have frequently mistaken Henry Ford for the government. The court maintained that leaflets merit the same protection as newspapers, and cited the inflammatory writings of Tom Paine as an illustration of valuable non-newspaper crusading. Where is all this going to end? Will tory cartoonists soon be found depicting Chief Justice Hughes poring over his *Daily Worker* while John W. Davis vainly pleads for justice?

*

IN EXPLAINING HIS VETO OF THE McNABOE bill Governor Lehman delivered an eloquent sermon on democracy to those who would transform New York—and the nation—into a Nazi prison camp. What he said was not new: his most frequent references were to the writings of the late Justice Holmes; his most militant insistence was upon what Mr. Holmes called "freedom for the thought we hate." But these things, however familiar, need affirmation in an hour when contempt for democratic procedure is international and the idea of democracy is allegedly losing vitality. By provoking Governor Lehman into this statement, our political drugstore cowboys may have inadvertently performed a lasting service. They have lost most of their prestige and all vestige of dignity. Mr. McNaboe has now exposed a "Communist plot" to murder New York's police force "at a given signal." He insists that his bill could have "nipped the conspiracy." When word of the plot was transmitted to the police commissioner's office, an unofficial statement was released, to wit: "Nuts."

*

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A WIDE SPLIT IS IN the making in the higher regions of the Catholic church. First Cardinal Innitzer of Austria heils Hitler and gives the signal to the faithful to vote *Ja* on plebiscite day. Then an amazing editorial appears in the Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano,* disavowing official responsibility for Innitzer's action, and this is followed with a special German broadcast from the Vatican in which "shepherds" are denounced for failing to "recognize the wolf in sheep's clothing" and for believing "the promises of people against whom the sad experience of others and even the word of the highest shepherd should have warned them." On the following day this broadcast also is described in the Vatican press as "unofficial." But much more likely than a divided Vatican is the chance that the Holy See wanted merely to get in a few well-chosen and well-timed words against *Anschluss* without having to bear diplomatic responsibility. However fascist-minded the hierarchy may be, it can hardly relish the prospect of having its extensive Austrian holdings washed away in the Nazi tide. It may even be that a suspicion is beginning to dawn on the Vatican that in choosing to beat Marxism with fascism it has clambered astride a bucking bronco and is in a fair way to be kicked by both horses.

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS just cut off another piece of its own nose to spite the C. I. O.'s face. It has advised its officials and members to withdraw all support from Labor's Non-Partisan League and to set up new non-partisan political committees to work in the coming elections for candidates who are friendly to the A. F. of L. This latest move would be more alarming if it were not the petulant enunciation of a negative policy by a politically impotent group. It creates no new division; it merely reveals the depths of an already existing one. It will of course further confuse an already confused picture. It may even contribute to repetitions of the Seattle mayoralty election, in which the disunity of labor resulted in the victory of the conservative candidate; but it will do so only in those exceptional situations where an A. F. of L. boss wields political power. And in Seattle Dave Beck's defeat was much worse than that of his C. I. O. opponents. In New York the federation's action may give certain labor leaders an excuse for sticking to Tammany, in addition to reactionary reasons that were already decisive. On the other hand it should advertise to working voters the continuing political bankruptcy of the A. F. of L. In general, the federation's threat to Labor's Non-Partisan League should prove every bit as effective as its threat to drive the C. I. O. out of business. It makes good copy for conservative newspapers; it is extremely unlikely to have much effect on the election returns.

*

AL CAPONE, IT IS SAID, ONCE GAVE CHICAGO twenty-four hours to get out, but Chicago's civic conscience hardly flickered. With primaries impending, there are hopeful evidences that Chicago is no longer so immune to political reform. Labor's Non-Partisan League is emerging as an articulate factor in the city's politics. In next week's balloting a small but aggressive group of league-supported candidates for United States senator, congressman-at-large, state senator, and several other posts will test the power of the Kelly-Nash machine and the vitality of Chicago's electorate. One of the new voices becoming audible in Chicago is that of Wayne McMillen, Chicago University professor and crusader for decent relief conditions, who is the progressive nominee for state senator. The outcome of these primaries may indicate whether Chicago can ultimately duplicate New York's labor victory. That the obstacles to such a triumph in municipal politics are formidable has once more been illustrated in Kansas City, where the Pendergast machine managed to maintain its grip in last week's election despite an impressive reform opposition. That opposition, however, not only made appreciable inroads into Pendergast's traditional strength but also precipitated an exposure of wholesale registration frauds and blocked the gangsters' field day which normally takes place at election time in Kansas City. Perhaps the most significant aspect of these municipal reform movements is the growing fusion between the forces of economic democracy and political decency. The two have not always been inseparable; reform has often meant the veiling of brass knuckles with silk gloves. Labor's political statesmanship can prevent such hypocrisy and give real meaning to the war against local bosses.

*

LORD LONDONDERRY, ONE OF THE LEADING British Naziphiles, tells all in a book just published in England under the title "Ourselves and Germany." This remarkable volume contains, among other nuggets, accounts of Londonderry's conversations with Hitler, Göring, and others during the past two years, and it would be funny if it didn't make your hair stand on end. His most recent talk with Göring was in September, 1937, when Göring complained bitterly to the gentleman from London. "He contended," writes Lord Londonderry, "that wherever Germany sought to make progress Britain invariably stood in the way. . . . The interests of the two countries did not clash in any way yet we [the British] were unwilling while claiming naval preponderance throughout the world to grant Germany's position of military superiority on the Continent." That was all Hitler wanted, but Londonderry was not disheartened. His book pleads for Anglo-German friendship, and except on the colonial issue he is eager for Britain to be sympathetic to all Germany's claims, though he thinks Czechoslovakia is for some reason a different matter. His motive is crystal clear. The Nazis' hatred for communism strikes a deep responsive chord. He can even understand their attitude toward the Jews, though Julius Streicher's utterances, he says, "offend our more refined feelings in this country." He describes a conversation with the head Nazi in which Hitler disavowed any designs on Russia, meanwhile building up a picture of Soviet strength and impregnability that must have scared the wits out of Londonderry. In general, one gets a picture of Colonel Blimp hypnotized by the necromancers of the Third Reich into believing that a strong Nazi Germany is all that can save Old England from communism and then scurrying home to work up propaganda for an Anglo-German deal. As we have indicated, it would all be very funny, except that Colonel Blimp has been, and is, running the British government.

The President Must Act!

TWO weeks have passed since Secretary Hull announced that the President would not act to lift the Spanish embargo, and Chairman McReynolds of the House Foreign Affairs Committee suddenly called off hearings on the proposed amendments to the Neutrality Act. They have been bitter weeks for Spain. Thousands of men have given their lives in a desperate and courageous attempt to stop an enemy that has been reinforced with the very latest German and Italian military equipment. As we go to press, the Loyalists are again in retreat on the Aragon front and the fascist forces have reached the sea. There is a limit to the extent to which flesh and blood can withstand steel and lead; and it is evident that this limit has very nearly been

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reached in Spain. Spanish democracy—and all that it means to the world—can only be preserved if the other democracies render assistance comparable to that which the fascists have given Franco.

At the moment the struggle between dictatorship and democracy is being fought on two main fronts—Catalonia and Washington. The final outcome of the unequal struggle in Spain may be decided within a desperately short time by the verdict of one man in Washington—President Roosevelt. If the President exercises his power under the Neutrality Act to lift the discriminatory embargo on Spain, the Loyalist cause may yet be saved. France is known to be willing to send in the needed planes, artillery, and other equipment if it can be assured that American isolationism will be tempered by a sense of justice.

Mr. Hull's statement that the President has no power to revoke the embargo is at best a legal quibble. In making special provision for civil war in the Neutrality Act of May 1, 1937, Congress clearly intended to supersede the temporary resolution of January 7, which, it will be recalled, was rushed through both Houses of Congress without debate as an emergency measure. The President's action in issuing a special proclamation in May reimposing the embargo under the Neutrality Act definitely supports this point of view. Thus the legal basis for the existing embargo is a proclamation imposed at the discretion of the President which, according to Section 1-g of the act, should be lifted if the President finds that the civil war does not "endanger the peace of the United States."

The State Department's emphasis on a technicality is particularly unimpressive in view of the very liberal interpretation which it has chosen to give the Neutrality Act in the Far Eastern conflict. We agree wholeheartedly with that interpretation. Invocation of the Neutrality Act in the Sino-Japanese conflict would penalize China and aid Japan in its aggression. But we fail to see how the State Department can logically refuse to recognize the present struggle in the Far East as a "war" and at the same time insist, on purely technical grounds, on the maintenance of the Spanish embargo. Spain is resisting a foreign invasion just as surely as is China, yet Spain is the one country in the world which cannot legally purchase munitions from the United States.

We do not lay the full blame for what has happened on either Secretary Hull or President Roosevelt. There is excellent reason to believe that both of them were prepared to take action a few weeks ago to end the sham of the neutrality policy. It is safe to say that the powerful editorials which appeared in the New York *Times* a fortnight ago calling for a repeal of the act were not written without the knowledge and at least tacit approval of the Administration. We do not presume to know exactly what caused the sudden abandonment of this drive; since it is hardly likely that Hull and Roosevelt have suddenly become disciples of Hitler and Franco, it may be assumed that friends of Franco within the State Department have overridden their chiefs by means of dubious legal opinions.

Whether this is a correct diagnosis or not, there is but one sure way of bringing a reversal of the President's stand—a convincing demonstration that the great majority of the American people are against the Spanish embargo. During the past few weeks thousands of telegrams and letters have poured into Washington urging that the embargo be rescinded. Doubtless these have had an effect. But they have not been sufficiently concentrated on the President, who alone has the power to act immediately. Nor have the appeals come in sufficient volume from states other than New York—leaving the unfair impression that New York alone is interested in the preservation of democracy in Spain. In this crisis a citizen has not discharged his duty with one or two telegrams to the President. It is necessary to enlist one's friends in the campaign, by letter, by word of mouth, or, best of all, by urgent wires. Pressure must be maintained until the President acts.

Shadow Boxing in a Crisis

WE HOPE that by the time this appears in print the fight over the reorganization bill will have ended with a victory for the President. The willingness of Administration forces in the House to accept an amendment giving Congress power by majority vote to override executive reorganization orders seems to have assured passage. The measure itself is of secondary consequence. "In striving together to make our government more efficient," Mr. Roosevelt said in his reorganization message last year, "you and I are taking up in our generation the battle to preserve that freedom of self-government which our forefathers fought to establish and hand down to us. They struggled against tyranny, against non-representative controls, against government by birth, wealth, or class, against sectionalism. Our struggle is against confusion, against ineffectiveness, against waste, against inefficiency."

Mr. Roosevelt's eloquence ran away with him. His attempt to bring greater economy and efficiency into the bureaucratic maze of the federal government is commendable. But the preservation of self-government in our generation does not depend on our having 35 instead of 135 bureaus at Washington. It rests on the capacity and willingness of Congress to control a self-perpetuating economic oligarchy whose power has continued to grow despite two generations of intermittent reform by New Nationalism, New Freedom, and New Deal. The fight over reorganization has served chiefly to reveal the unreality of much contemporary political controversy, the lengths to which their domination of the press enables our economic overlords to carry their mendacity, and the hysteria to which they can drive ordinarily intelligent people.

In the midst of a growing economic crisis the impact of democratic processes is diverted to an issue that bears no relation whatever to the failure of our system of production and distribution to feed, clothe, and employ our

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people despite the richness of our natural resources and the wealth of capital and industrial plant at our disposal. The decline in business since September, 1937, has been precipitous. In the first six months of the 1929-30 crisis national income fell 6 per cent, manufacturing activity 15 per cent, factory employment 10 per cent, factory pay rolls 12 per cent. In the six months ending with March 1 of this year national income fell 11 per cent, manufacturing activity 35 per cent, factory employment 20 per cent, factory pay rolls almost 30 per cent. The National Industrial Conference Board estimates that 4,300,000 persons have lost their jobs since September and that the total of unemployed in January was the highest it has been since May, 1935. Common-stock prices have fallen about 45 per cent during the "recession." In the past six weeks business seems to have scraped bottom, as the optimists so often phrased it in 1929-33, and even to have turned upward a little. But no one knows whether this is mere pause or real turning-point. Neither the New Deal nor its opponents seem interested enough to find out.

A survey of editorial opinion casts doubt on the sincerity of the present attack on the bill. Newspapers now distinguishing themselves for hysteria took a calm and not unfavorable view of the bill when it was introduced last year, though it was far more drastic then than it is now. A reader of the New York *World-Telegram* who recalled the enthusiastic editorial, To Vitalize Democracy, printed on January 13, 1937, the day after the President's reorganization message, must have been astonished when his paper a year later began to accuse the President of totalitarian ambitions and compare him to Hitler for sponsoring the bill. The New York *Herald Tribune*, bellwether of the Old Guard papers, declared in June that the bill would have "widespread approval" if Mr. Roosevelt would leave the independent commissions and the Comptroller General's office untouched. The Hearst press, the day before the President's message, applauded a similar plan put forward in an interview by Senator Byrd. The sudden concern of the conservative press for the independence of the various federal regulatory commissions was amusing when one remembered the enthusiasm with which they had supported a bill sponsored by Senator Smoot of Utah in 1925 to bring these agencies under political control. A coalition of Democrats and progressive Republicans blocked the measure at that time. That the President's proposal should provoke a storm from the right would have been surprising a few years ago. The campaign of calumny began in December, and two of the figures behind it provide a clue to its character and motivations. One is Edward A. Rumely, whose qualifications for the task of running a National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government were described in last week's issue by Paul Y. Anderson. If Frank E. Gannett finds the odor of the Berlin-Rome axis pervading his committee, he can trace the scent to Mr. Rumely. Another significant figure in the lobby fighting the bill is Charles G. Dunwoody, employed by the California Chamber of Commerce and active in behalf of West Coast lumber interests, which fear any change in the existing method of government supervision over the nation's forests; their concern is one of the bill's best recommendations.

That the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt should have chosen so hollow an issue on which to fight him is an indication of its intellectual bankruptcy, an admission of its failure to formulate a plan of its own to stem a slump it seems as anxious as the Administration to ignore. Unfortunately, the fury of the attack, coming as it did on top of the alarming decline in business, seems to have shaken the President. His letter denying dictatorial purposes was as necessary as a disclaimer from Hitler that the coming plebiscite on Austria is an opening wedge for the restoration of democracy. The charges made against Mr. Roosevelt did not merit a reply, but the lack of scruple and the capacity for organized propaganda of the forces active in the crusade against him deserve the closest attention. It is the duty of Congress to throw light into all the dark corners of this campaign. It is the duty of the President by forceful action, above all by a new spending program, to fight the depression on which a movement of this kind may feed. It is time Mr. Roosevelt put his hand to the wheel again.

Ominous Lull

DURING the past few weeks the world has become so accustomed to the overturn of governments, to secret pacts, ultimatums, and invasions that there is a tendency to greet the present lull in European affairs with a sigh of relief. The fact that we have passed through a series of crises without a break-up is taken as a sign that perhaps we are not as close to war as alarmists have supposed. Unfortunately, such optimism seems to us badly misplaced. Realistic observers of the present world situation may differ sharply in their recommendations as to what should be done, but few would deny that the situation is serious and is growing steadily worse. Hitler's seizure of Austria provoked horror and resentment among the peoples of all the democratic countries, but it brought no fundamental change in direction in any country. Indeed, it appears to have encouraged the suicidal policies of surrender to the dictators which have proved their futility throughout the last seven years.

Despite the immediate threat to French security arising from Franco's advance into Catalonia, the new French Foreign Minister, Paul-Boncour, has done no more than his predecessor to break away from bondage to England. Lloyd George is known to have visited Blum and Paul-Boncour recently with an urgent plea that France act independently in Spain and subsequently inform the British government of its action. His plea was rejected. On March 15 the French government actually did decide to occupy Minorca and Spanish Morocco, provided the British would give their consent. But the proposal was dropped because of Chamberlain's opposition. Part of Blum's weakness may be accounted for by the

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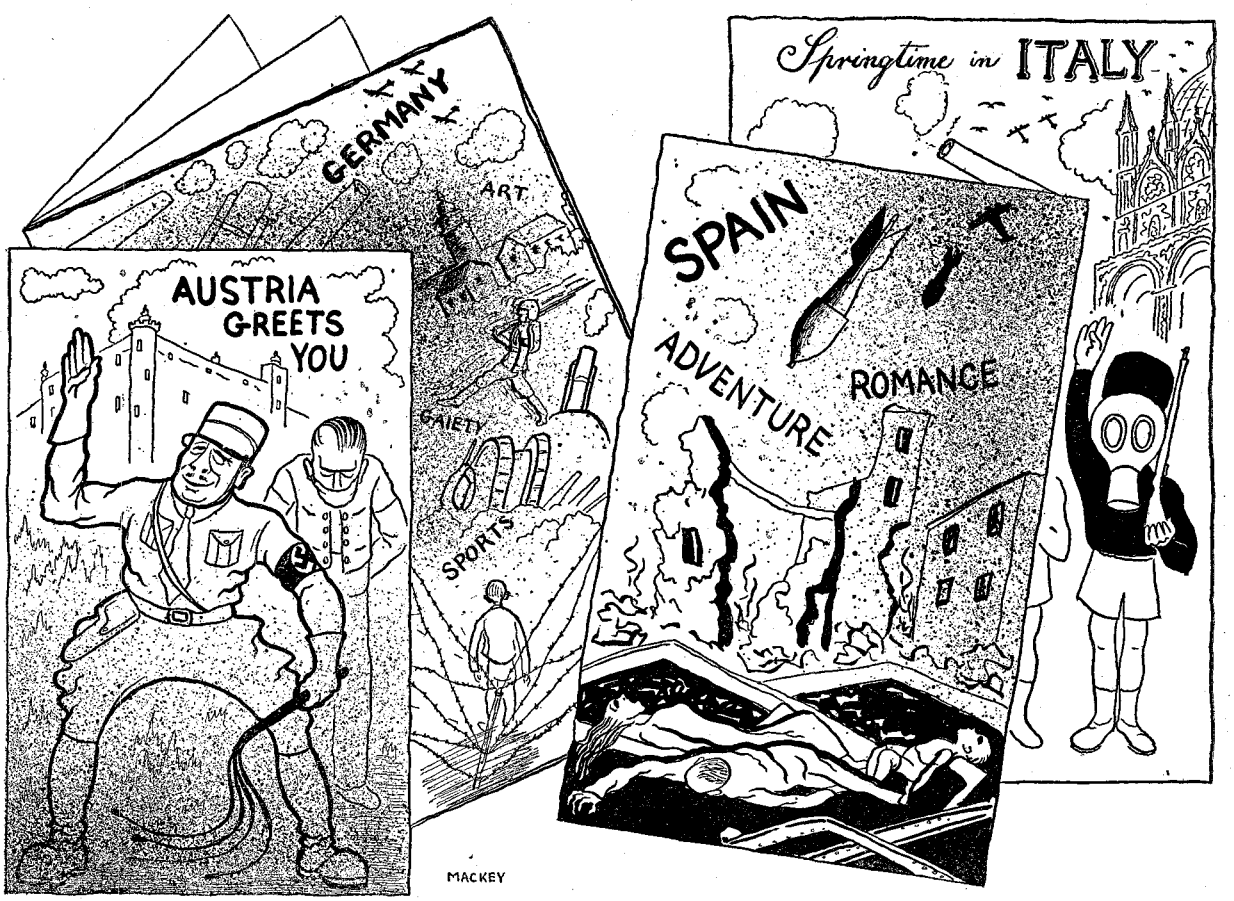
difficulties which his financial program is encountering in the Senate. The record of French foreign policy in the past two years suggests, however, that the primary source of weakness lies much deeper.

Meanwhile, the main outlines of Chamberlain's policy have become a little clearer. For the moment, all plans for conciliating Hitler are held in abeyance. The agreement with Italy is reported definitely to have been concluded on terms satisfactory to Mussolini. Mr. Chamberlain's strategy in concluding this treaty apparently rests on the hope that by weakening the Rome-Berlin axis he can force Germany to seek an agreement on terms Britain can accept. If worst comes to worst, there is still the possibility that in the event of war a friendly Italy might, as in 1914, be persuaded to side against Germany. This same hope undoubtedly motivated Britain's negotiations with Mussolini last year and the year before, but in each case the agreement was no sooner made than it was violated by Italy. And it would be difficult to find anything either in Italy's activities in Spain or in its relations with Germany today which suggests that the latest pact will have any more weight than those which have gone before.

Any prospect that existed for an early overthrow of the Chamberlain government a few weeks ago now seems to have disappeared. Both Labor and the Liberals have launched vigorous campaigns demanding new elections. But barring factional strife within the Conservative Party, there is no way by which the opposition can force a dissolution of Parliament. Differences of opinion on Chamberlain's foreign policy undoubtedly exist within the Conservative ranks, but it is to be noted that the Eden and Churchill factions have consistently voted with the government. About all that can be expected in the near future is some shift in the Cabinet to make room for Churchill, and possibly Eden. If such a shake-up occurred, the direction of British foreign policy might be modified, but no vital change can be hoped for without a change in government.

Does this mean that the world has no other choice than to resign itself to an inevitable conflict? Fortunately, this is not yet the case. A general war is only likely to break out between two groups of countries approximately equal in strength. Such equality does not yet exist. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini would be rash enough to risk war against Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Still less would there be a chance of conflict if the United States clearly aligned itself with the peace-respecting countries. A change in leadership in Britain might achieve such a grouping. Neither France nor the Soviet Union would hesitate at the step.

Such a line-up is still possible today, but tomorrow it will be too late. A victory for Franco in Spain will seriously impair France's military power; the destruction of Czechoslovakia will open the whole of Central Europe to Hitler; Poland may align itself with the growing fascist international; a Japanese victory in China would endanger both the United States and the Soviet Union. Under such circumstances an alliance of the democratic powers would be met by an alliance of fascist powers of equal or superior strength. When that moment arrives, nothing can prevent a world war.



Spring Travel, 1938

Drawing by John Mackey

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A Foreign Policy for America

Partial Returns Run Five-to-One for Collective Action

THE first sizable returns in *The Nation's* poll to determine what foreign policy liberals think the United States should pursue to keep this country out of war show a greater than five-to-one ratio in favor of some form of collective action as opposed to outright isolation. The meager returns printed last week, totaling 1,328 ballots, divided 1,144 to 184 for collective action, or about 6.2 to 1, but allowance was made in estimating their significance for the fact that they were exclusively from *Nation* readers and therefore presumably in a large measure favorable to the magazine's collective-security policy. This week's count, partially tabulated below, is on the basis of 4,457 votes, of which only 1,614 were cast by *Nation* readers, but the percentage in favor of collective action has decreased only from 86.1 to 83.7. Among the magazine's readers themselves 86.5 per cent favor collective security, while among non-readers who replied the percentage is 82.

A particularly striking aspect of the poll so far is the fact that while the total collective-security vote is 3,732, fully 2,751 voters record themselves as directing their hopes for collective action to non-official groups such as labor, liberal, and pacifist elements. Some of these votes may conceivably be from those who also voted for isolation to begin with, but inasmuch as the total isolationist vote was only 725, it is still obvious that well over 50 per cent of the collective-security sentiment places its reliance on popular, non-official forces.

While figures for the most important questions will be given each week, there are other items on the ballot which will be included in the tabulation only when the complete returns are in. It is worth noting in passing, however, that of the methods suggested for government action toward reducing the economic causes of international friction, reciprocal trade agreements lead with 3,924 votes; next best is stabilization of currencies, with 3,096 votes. Individual opinions of outstanding liberals will be found on succeeding pages, with more to come in our next issue. The vote on the principal questions to date is as follows:

In the long run, which offers the better insurance against war for this country—

1. Isolation? 725
2. A policy of cooperation with other nations in defense of peace? 3,732

ISOLATION

Do you believe that a policy of isolation—

1. Should be backed by a large increase in the army and navy? 210
2. Or should we depend chiefly on measures of economic non-intercourse to protect us from war? 471

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

What sort of collective action do you advocate to check aggression—

1. Economic measures directed against the offending power? 3,104
2. Economic support for the victims of aggression? 2,959
3. The threat of collective armed resistance to aggression? 2,286

The present Neutrality Act prevents economic cooperation with other nations to prevent or resist aggression. Would you favor—

1. Repealing the act outright? 1,447
2. Or amending it to permit economic aid to the victims of aggression? 2,111

IN EITHER CASE

Has the failure of the major democratic powers effectively to oppose the aggressions of Germany, Italy, and Japan weakened your belief in the possibility of collective action?

Yes 1,632 No 2,673

Has it caused you to direct your hopes for such action to non-official groups in all countries—particularly to labor and liberal and pacifist elements in the populations and the parliaments?

Yes 2,751 No 1,364

Do you favor the application of voluntary popular boycotts to goods coming from nations engaged in aggressive warfare?

Yes 3,496 No 725

Do you believe in a referendum on the question of a declaration of war by the United States?

Yes 1,833 No 2,206

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WILLIAM E. DODD
Former Ambassador to Germany

I am absolutely convinced the United States must cooperate seriously with other democracies if we are to save our system. Hitler and Mussolini hope we may remain isolated. If we do, they can annex about all they wish and rule Europe. Germans frequently say, "We would have ruled Europe but for Woodrow Wilson."

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
An Editor of Fortune

To begin with, let me say that I don't believe that either collective security or isolation offers any sure guaranty of peace. There is going to be war in Europe—either small wars or a large war—no matter what the United States does or does not do; the Treaty of Versailles made such a future inevitable. As a high German official told Henry C. Wolfe, "If Germany wins the next war, she wins; if she loses, everybody loses." You can't stop that sort of person or nation by all the collective-security pacts in the world.

Since I think there is going to be war in Europe and Asia anyway, I should like to keep the United States at peace to work out its own democratic future. "Collective action" automatically compels us to war and the acceptance of a domestic dictatorship. Isolation *may* result in war, but there is at least a small chance that it will not. And even though it may prove impossible to stay out of the next war, I should rather enter late than early. If we are in the next war at the beginning we shall have no power to influence the peace. But if we can hold off and make our entry conditional, we might succeed where Woodrow Wilson failed and bargain for a decent peace. I admit that isolation automatically creates a war party at home, financed by those who want to trade with belligerents. But that is a hazard we have to run. I should prefer to die fighting that war party than to die fighting in a war.

STEPHEN DUGGAN
Director of the Institute of International Education

The people of the United States and, I believe, its government also are devoted to two political principles, peace and freedom. During most of our history these principles have been maintained in harmony, but there have been a few times when they clashed. In 1776 the American people sacrificed peace to freedom and won their independence. In 1861 they did so again, maintained their unity, and made freedom universal within their borders. It is everywhere and at all times possible that the only way to secure or maintain freedom is to fight for it.

Within little more than a century there have been two world wars—the struggle with Napoleon, which for that day was comparable to the World War in extent and influence, and the latter struggle itself. In both cases the United States tried hard to remain neutral. In neither case was it successful. With a world narrowing daily as the result of scientific discovery and invention, it is questionable that it could remain neutral in the event of another conflagration similar to that of 1914-18. It has prepared itself to maintain a state of neutrality through the passage by Congress of the Neutrality Act of 1935.

The Neutrality Act makes no distinction between an aggressor state and its victim. To make such a distinction means, of course, to incur the ill-will of the nation designated as aggressor and war against the United States if that nation considers itself strong enough to go to war. On the other hand, the tenor of the Neutrality Act gives the impression that we are not going to fight under any circumstances. To give an aggressor nation the impression that we are "too proud to fight" is not helpful for the cause of peace, especially if we decide later to fight anyhow.

There is no reason why, because we are passing through an insane period in human affairs, we should deviate from the sound principle that our foreign policy should be determined primarily by our national interests. If to protect our interests we need an increase in our navy, let us have such an increase. And we can console ourselves with the reflection that, though armies have repeatedly destroyed freedom, navies have seldom, if ever, done so. If to pursue a policy dictated by our national interests means that we are pursuing a policy "parallel" to that of any other country, certainly we ought to be glad to find another nation adopting a policy in which we have faith ourselves. Nor does such a policy mean pure selfishness. The Hull pacts are a case in point. Such tariff treaties as those with Cuba, Canada, and other states have proved beneficial to the other participants as well as to ourselves and they have helped to stimulate recovery in world commercial relations.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II
Staff Writer on the Birmingham News and Age-Herald

I believe in collective action. But it must go farther than any mere pact with other countries or "parallel" of policy, and it must appease the so-called aggressor nations as well as oppose them. It must express a passion of the whole people of America and have a program of realism and self-consistency. That is why *The Nation's* attempt to discover the attitude of so-called liberals is important. The great first thing is to know whether any large unanimity of thought and feeling is available on which to base a foreign policy at all.

For effective part in collective action America must undertake what increases of armament the increases of other nations make necessary in military opinion. It must repeal or amend the Neutrality Act so that it will not be limited in considering cases on their merits or bound to policies neutral in act but not in effect. And it must reject every Ludlow amendment that ties its hands at home.

To make collective action worth while, America must carry it beyond peace-preserving to the contriving of a prosperity in which peace will not be threatened. It must back Secretary Hull's efforts to make trade free. It must forgive or radically reduce the war debts. And it must be willing to insist upon collective examination of conditions which make Italy, Germany, and Japan feel in need of a greater share of the world's markets, lands, and raw materials.

Finally, if the dictator nations are to be halted in their present resorts to force and theft, America and the other democracies must develop for their collective action something of the passion, the drama, the determination, and the unanimity of those dictator nations.

GEORGE P. WEST
Editorial Writer on the San Francisco News

I'm for isolation until the people of the United States control the United States, including its State Department and its foreign policy. We have plenty to do here at home before that goal is reached.

I think we should support Roosevelt on domestic policies because we are in a fight, and Roosevelt is the best President

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we have had since the issue was joined. And Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade policy is good enough in its way. But Mr. Roosevelt's Democratic Party with its large Catholic following, plus the snobs of the State Department, has put us on the wrong side in Spain and hopelessly compromised us in anything we might say or do in international affairs. That is why I say we should favor staying out—we liberals—until we can control our own country.

Democracy in England and the United States is a hope, a dream still to be attained. In the meantime foreign policy will continue to be ambiguous where it is not reactionary. And the less we let the Chamberlains and the Kennedys and the rest of them do, the better. Class interest controls foreign policy or paralyzes it in France, England, and the United States. Let's concentrate on getting control of our own government. That means primarily strengthening the labor movement.

LUCIUS R. EASTMAN

President of Hills Brothers Company and of Survey Associates

However attractive the idea may be, I do not believe it possible today for any nation to live in isolation. Therefore if for no other reason than that it doesn't face reality, the present Neutrality Act should be repealed.

As after 1776 the pressing problem for the people of the separate colonies was to learn to live together as the United States, so in a much larger way and under more difficult conditions today the nations of the world must learn to live together in peace.

My experience in serving on the Economic Committee of the League of Nations convinced me that there was a definite place in the world for an organization that could carry on studies in the fields of economics, labor, trade relations, and so on which would result in recommendations making for peace and progress. I doubt whether now is the time to advocate a closer relation of the United States to the League. I believe we might better raise the question of setting up an organization in the Western Hemisphere primarily interested in the affairs of the Americas, not as a rival to the League but as an independent yet cooperating organization.

I do believe, however, that we should stand ready to collaborate with other major powers in efforts to maintain peace. I am convinced that we must be prepared, if necessary, to use the threat of armed resistance with all that that implies in our efforts to maintain peace. We have no right to ask England or any other nation to undertake the task of policing the world for our benefit. The very strength of the United States carries with it responsibilities which we cannot shirk.

CARL DREHER

Radio Engineer

In foreign affairs I subscribe to the policy set forth in the President's Chicago speech. There is no such thing as security, individual or national, but there are degrees of insecurity, and to my mind the prompt and resolute quarantining of aggressors entails the least hazard for our country and the other non-fascist powers. Conversely, our greatest danger resides in our hesitancy to put the Chicago policy into practice.

I favor the immediate passage of the O'Connell resolution, which would permit laying an embargo on export of war materials to Germany, Italy, and Japan, and any other states which run amuck, while allowing shipments, in foreign bottoms, to the victims of totalitarian attack. I favor supplementing this legislation with private boycott of manufactures from the proscribed states, cost what it may.

Would these measures involve us in war? I doubt it. Behind its delirium of threat and propaganda fascism knows its military and economic limitations. Unflinching collective resistance offers the best, probably the only, hope of preventing the world war which is in the making. But the time for action is short, and the acceleration of events such that the last chance may be gone while we are making up our minds.

AGNES LEACH

Former President, New York State League of Women Voters

I cannot see that isolation of the United States is going to get us very far, and I am convinced that if followed through consistently, it will ultimately lead to war. I have always been in favor of the United States joining the League of Nations, but realize that at the present time this is such a remote possibility that we must consider other means of collective action. I am in favor of repealing the Neutrality Act and cooperating as far as possible with other nations in the support of international treaties and in an effort to explore all possible avenues for peace. It is my profound belief that the hope of such action lies with the liberal and labor groups in all countries, especially in those where the channels of public opinion are still open.

KARL N. LLEWELLYN

Professor of Law at Columbia Law School

Starting with a conviction that the chances that a new major war impends are so great as to force safeguard, I am in favor of a heavy armament program; this despite its obvious, known, and evil concomitants. Collective governmental efforts to postpone or wholly avert a major war, or to reduce the area within which inertia and desire for peace are indecently exploited, seem to me desirable. They seem to me, also, improbable of occurrence.

But certainly in the present situation, in which interests lack sharp demarcation both among and within states, and in which such terms as "aggressor" or "victim" or "nation" give no accurate or predictable indication of who will be held to fall within the terms, I feel that case-by-case judgment and action are the only conceivable effective mode of operation. Any immediate attempt to devise a general solving machinery is foredoomed. Our present Neutrality Act, for instance, lacks the very flexibility which the shifting flux of power, motive, event, and personnel make utterly necessary to intelligent action.

The totalitarian mobilization of the power of certain states brings home to a democracy three facts: (1) special jobs need specialized people—this cannot be ducked; (2) leeway to go right is also, and must be, leeway to go wrong—this cannot be ducked; (3) machinery for controlling officials stymies, and must stymie, needed action in any emergency—this cannot be ducked. To me, this means, indeed, some inevitable impingement of dictatorships on a democracy—if a democracy is to cope with the dictatorships—as ganged crooks inevitably impinge on police if police are to cope with ganged crooks.

In sum: for our own polity to survive, its movement must be toward *fighting power* (with the outrageous necessary costs and wastes); and, in international relations, the movement must be toward executive discretion (with the outrageous necessary costs and wastes).

But Mere People had better—and they can—gather themselves together speedily, and squeeze, and squeeze skilfully, and squeeze hard, to get the needed power and discretion *used*—and used *sensibly*.

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Reorganization and Bunk

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, April 4

IT IS no wonder that ordinary sensible people have been startled and bewildered by the commotion over the government-reorganization bill. Here is a measure devised solely to improve the mechanics of the administrative end of the government. It involves no change of policy and few changes of function. The talk of dictatorship is sheer impudent bunk, and known to be such by those who indulge in it, provided they are not totally ignorant on the subject. The purpose of the bill is to bring a semblance of order and conformity to the patternless crazy-quilt which now represents a large area of the administrative branch. Every President since and including Taft has sought to accomplish it. Hoover asked and was given the power. He was prevented from exercising it only because a Democratic Congress decided to reserve it for a Democratic President. What, then, is all the shooting about?

The elements which comprise the opposition form a conglomeration which, suitably enough, is quite as crazy as the system they strive to perpetuate, and it is a pity they can't all be tossed into the same pen and permitted to claw one another into silence. It is impossible to classify them with entire precision, but by and large they fall into these main groups: (1) government bureaucrats and employees who are fearful of what might happen to them in a shake-up; (2) private interests which have established convenient pipe-lines into existing agencies and have their own reasons for not wishing them disturbed; (3) members of Congress and other politicians who stand to lose considerable patronage by the extension of the merit system; and (4) everyone who wishes to do anything that might annoy, irritate, hamper, impede, distress, or damage Roosevelt. There are some mavericks, but the foregoing embraces the flower and bulk of the herd.

The first three groups require no further explanation or analysis, but we might spend a little time on the fourth. It includes a substantial number of Democratic Senators and Representatives. Most of them are personal reactionaries who have always hated Roosevelt and now believe they are safe in admitting it. In addition some of them represent powerful interests like the textile, banking, and shipping industries, and they are seizing every opportunity and gambling on every chance to discredit or defame the New Deal to insure the nomination of a reactionary Democrat at the next national convention. Naturally, that includes "stopping Roosevelt" where any possibility of a third term is concerned. Such men as Bailey, Copeland, Gerry, and George in the Senate, and O'Connor and Cox in the House, thus classify themselves as personal or professional tories.

However, the anti-New Deal Democrats include a very special group, to wit, those who themselves are candidates for the Presidential nomination in 1940. The trio whose hopes are most clearly revealed by their conduct are Wheeler of Montana, Byrd of Virginia, and Burke of Nebraska. George of Georgia hopes just as hard but less obviously. Here it is that individuality of aim, conflict of purpose, and hearty mutual distrust reach their ultimate perfect flower. The aspirants soap and grease one another lavishly in public, but nobody is deceived. They are in haste to finish Roosevelt so that they may start on each other. Of two who were leaders and brothers-in-arms in the fight against the court plan, one recently confided that he regarded the other as "the most reactionary man in the United States Senate." He was pretty near right, too.

Byrd is a calculating, selfish, skinflint type of politician who has been a Presidential candidate since before 1932. His chief claim for preference is based on the fact that as Governor of Virginia he put through a reorganization bill closely resembling the one he is now opposing in the Senate. Burke is essentially a comic figure, and it hardly seems possible that his "boom" can spread beyond the confines of his immediate family, although history has warned us. His short, broad-beamed figure, his ponderous strut, his sonorous platitudes, his heavy jocosities are all typical. A sensitive man would have shunned public attention after such an experience as befell Burke's attack on the Labor Board, but men of his type possess an armor-plate complacency which is proof against ridicule. As for Wheeler — poor Burt! Let us close our eyes and ears and think only of his valiant fight against the Ohio Gang, his championship of many progressive measures, and his indefatigable labors to expose the plundering of the railroads by financial buccaneers. Let us continue to pray for him. For his own part he will speed our prayers by showing that he is old enough politically to know that tory interests never trust their fate to a disgruntled progressive.

Senator Byrd

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Senator Wagner

Senator Wagner, author of the most important piece of humanitarian legislation of this decade, has now offered a bill which is the logical companion-piece to the Labor Relations Act. It would provide that all persons, firms, corporations, and public authorities receiving loans, grants, *and contracts* from the federal government shall comply with the principles and policies of collective bargaining laid down in the Labor Relations Act. It is fortunate that the bill is before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, because it was Senator Elbert D. Thomas, the wise and enlightened chairman of that committee, who pointed out some time ago that the Wagner Act had become the fundamental labor policy of the United States, and that sensible employers would stop bawling and comply with it.

Unfortunately, that brand of sense is the last attribute to be found in some employers, and hence it is necessary, after giving them three hints and a crack with a baseball bat, to hit them where they have both sense and feeling —in the profit account. Among those who need a severe application of this treatment are the big shipbuilders who will be on the job with outstretched bowls when the new navy program begins to rain gravy. The "Big Three" in this group consists of the Bethlehem, Newport News, and New York Shipbuilding companies. Pressing them in the value of government contracts is the Electric Boat Company, builder of submarines. Omit Henry Ford and Tom Girdler, and you could sift the dregs of American industry without finding four worse labor records. That of Bethlehem was beautifully exemplified in the tactics of its parent company at Johnstown. Almost identical methods were employed by the Newport News Company in the town of the same name. The labor-hating and strike-breaking policies of the other two are differentiated only by their employment of less spectacular forms of mayhem.

In dealing with these congenital labor-haters no reliance can be placed on the Navy Department. It always favors the contractor against his employees, and to his routine brutalities adds the singularly harsh and opprobrious charge that men striking for their rights are "hamstringing the national defense." As a matter of fact, it gave Electric Boat an important contract while a strike was in progress, and then granted an extension of time to relieve the company of damages for failure to complete the contract on time. The brass hats and the profiteers need no protection from each other, but the men who build the ships should be protected against both.

America's Gift to Aggressors

BY H. C. ENGELBRECHT

WHEN protest was made in the British House of Commons about the war trade with Japan, Lord Cranbourne replied that "to grant no further licenses for export of arms to Japan would involve difficulty with the Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty." When Commander Fletcher later tried to discover what export licenses for war materials to Japan were actually being issued, he received the reply, "His Majesty's government consider that it is contrary to the public interest to publish particulars of licenses issued for the export of arms and ammunition to particular destinations."

The same view apparently dominates American officials. Hardly had the press reported that American scrap-iron exports to Japan had almost tripled in a single year ($14,177,000 in 1936; $39,278,000 in 1937), when E. W. Pehrson of the United States Bureau of Mines declared before the Secondary Metal Institute that an export embargo on scrap iron would mean the abandonment of a "valuable strategic position now occupied by the United States." Countries like Japan and Italy, he continued, are dependent on American exports of scrap iron, and the United States could cripple the steel production of both countries by suddenly cutting off the supply of scrap. An embargo at this time, however, would only result in making these foreign industries permanently independent of the United States.

This tender feeling for the fascists extends beyond the war-materials trade. In Britain the popular boycott of fascist goods ran into difficulties because the Merchandise Marks Act of 1926 permits the merchant to mark imported articles either simply "foreign" or with the country of origin. Members of the House attempted to have Japanese goods labeled "Made in Japan," but the officials in charge declared that "the provisions of the existing act were best."

Everywhere one hears the same story. True, the Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia voted not to load ships with war supplies for Japan; the Irish Seamen's and Port Workers' Union decided to boycott all Japanese goods entering Dublin; the American National Maritime Union protested against the shipment of scrap iron to Japan in the government-owned freighter City of Rayville, a shipment which the Maritime Commission

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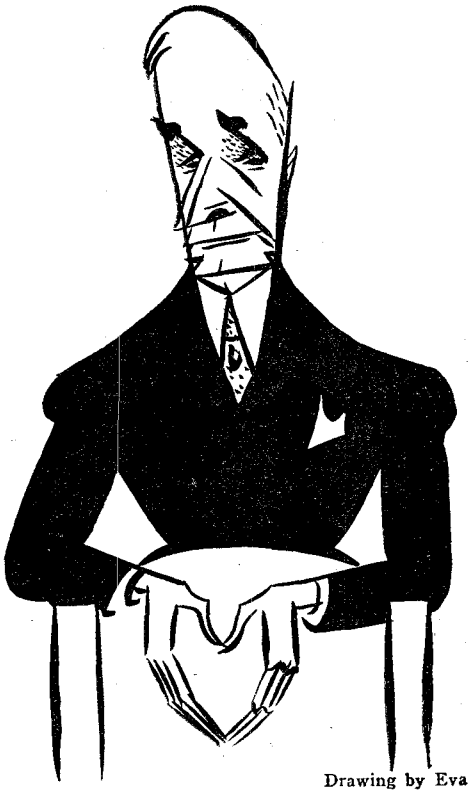

Drawing by Eva Herrmann

Secretary Hull

defended; the Tax Research Institute of America discovered in a survey of its 6,000 members that 39 per cent of its membership favored a strict embargo on selling to Japan. But such protests make no impression on governments or on the war traffickers.

France, for example, in spite of its fear of Nazi Germany, enormously increased its sales of iron ore to Germany after Hitler's accession. The figures speak for themselves: 7,116,599 cwt. in 1932; 11,566,202 cwt. in 1933; 17,060,916 cwt. in 1934; 58,616,111 cwt. in 1935. Sweden followed suit. Not only does it export more than 75 per cent of its excellent iron ore to Germany, but through Bofors it supplies the Nazis with one of the most effective anti-aircraft guns in the world. Last year Germany got 42 per cent of its iron ore from Sweden and 33 per cent from France.

Others have been aiding the Nazis in the same generous manner. The Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Company signalized the rise of Hitler to power by licensing its excellent aircraft engines to a German firm. Soviet Russia in a recent year supplied 52 per cent of Germany's ferromanganese, an essential for armament. Some German planes today use the British Rolls-Royce engine.

The Nye committee records are filled with stories of American aid to Japan's war industry and war preparations. But the British probably surpass us in Japanese tie-ups, and the French Renault Company only last year established a branch factory in Japan, transferring to it all its patents and agreeing to turn over to it all further inventions and improvements. The Canadians, too, are finding the Japanese invasion of China a good business stimulus. The International Nickel Company of Canada earned $3,500,000 more in six months of 1937 than in the entire year of 1929.

That is the general picture: the democracies are arming the fascists by direct sales of munitions and aircraft and raw materials, by licensing to them their latest inventions, and by establishing branch factories in their countries. The Spanish and Far Eastern wars, however, deserve more attention, particularly the angle of American aid. In the Spanish war the State Department used the Mar Cantabrico incident to extend the Neutrality Act to the Spanish Loyalists. Civil wars were not included in this legislation, but the uproar raised by the department over a shipment of second-hand aircraft resulted in rush measures against the legal government in Spain. This would seem to place an obligation on the State Department to play rigorously fair with both sides. What happened? Germany and Italy intervened openly with armies and every kind of war material on the side of the rebels, but though they were obviously belligerents, the embargo was not extended to those countries.

Moreover, there is definite evidence that American war materials are reaching the rebels in Spain. An Associated Press dispatch of January 11, 1938, originating in Philadelphia, told of a cargo of aerial bombs being shipped from a New Jersey dock on the German steamer Crefeld. It was clearly indicated that the bombs would be reshipped, though the destination was not given. The inference is obvious that they were going to the Spanish fascists. On January 28, 1938, Dennis Jordan, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, reported in a letter to the New York *Post* that "some of us have seen thousands of cartridges marked with the name of a prominent [American] munitions concern which were captured from the fascists at Belchite. We have also seen an exhibit in Valencia of aerial-bomb fragments, and prominently displayed among the German- and Italian-marked bomb casings were some which were made here in America."

In the Far Eastern war the State Department decided to ignore the Neutrality Act on the technicality that since war was not declared, war did not exist. Sympathizers with China hoped that China would benefit more from this policy than Japan. That hope becomes more and more baseless. China is apparently drawing its war materials chiefly from Soviet Russia, England, and Germany. It did buy millions of dollars' worth of aircraft and other munitions of war here, but it is handicapped by lack of ships. Japan, of course, has its own munitions factories and had made extensive preparations for war, but its purchases of American arms, particularly aircraft, are constantly increasing. The record for the last five months is as follows: in October, 1937, $85,378.09; in November, $528,433.33; in December, $250,282.63; in January, 1938, $538,243.40; in February, $1,184,950.70.

What happened was approximately as follows. Japan had prepared for war by storing raw materials and other supplies. For eighteen months it accumulated an unprecedented supply of scrap iron, largely from this country. Foreign oil companies which sold to Japan were ordered to store 50 per cent of their annual sales in that

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country. Their refusal to build their own storage facilities for such huge quantities almost caused an international incident, but Mitsubishi solved the problem by providing the needed tanks. At the same time Japan followed the lead of Germany and Italy in striving for national self-sufficiency. Plants were established for the liquefaction of coal into petroleum, an expensive process but a definite aid in supplying oil from internal sources. A syndicate was organized for the manufacture of the machine tools essential in armament production. Japan felt ready for war in China, which, it was confident, would not last long.

But that was a bad miscalculation. The war did last long, and the end is not yet in sight. The reserves so carefully stored proved inadequate, and new supplies had to be obtained. The story is told in detail by Eliot Janeway in his monthly column in *Asia* and in his Federated Press releases.

Oil was apparently the first item that ran short, and after two months of war the Japanese were in the market for 25,000,000 gallons of aviation fuel. They bought this from Standard Oil of California and from the Texas Corporation. In order to transport it thirty-two tankers were chartered and put into service. (Meanwhile the Navy Department is worried over the lack of tankers for the navy, and subsidies have been paid by the millions to the oil companies to provide more and faster ships.) This initial order was followed by another for 105,000,000 gallons of crude oil. Other purchases followed in rapid succession, until the sales of American oil to Japan during September and October amounted to 337,000,000 gallons. This was deemed sufficient for the war, and no further orders were placed during November and December. But in January inquiries were resumed.

Next came the demand for additional chemical plants. The Japanese chemical industry has made phenomenal progress. In 1936 Japan ranked fourth in world production of chemicals, surpassed only by Germany, the United States, and the U. S. S. R. It was believed that in heavy chemicals the actual demand would be met by domestic production in 1937. But the war made enormous new demands on the industry. New equipment was urgently needed; and where could this be more readily obtained than in the United States? Completely equipped plants were bought from American chemical manufacturers. The Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation licensed its Solvay patents to Japan; the Union Carbide and Carbon Company exported a gas-making factory; the Monsanto Chemical Company sold a sulphuric-acid plant; a Dubbs oil-cracking plant was acquired by the Mitsubishi Petroleum Company. Coal-tar products useful in making aviation blends and for explosives are finding an eager market, and the ammonium-sulphate makers are beginning to get Japanese orders.

Then the machine-tool syndicate broke down and was unable to furnish the lathes and precision instruments for making aircraft engines and various kinds of armament. The estimated need was 4,000 tons of these essentials, of which Japan could produce but 90 tons. Frantic efforts were made to supply the deficiency by purchases in this country. About 500 high-speed tools and lathes for aircraft work were sought in Cincinnati, but only three were obtained. The "recession" had not yet arrived.

Meanwhile the supply of scrap iron was running low. Japanese ships returning from China were frequently loaded with scrap—the remnants of Chinese machinery demolished by artillery or aerial bombs. Mars needed more. By January, 1938, the Japanese were back again in the American scrap market, and today reports from Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and other cities frequently mention American scrap-iron shipments to Japan.

Iron and steel orders also arrived. Of these, too, there had been reserves. In four months of 1937 more pig iron was shipped to Japan from the United States than in the previous six years. Likewise 844,000 tons of steel products went to Nippon, again a record. But the end is not yet in sight, and Japan is back buying steel. The Bethlehem Steel Company and two independents recently split an order for 14,000 tons of steel for tanks. Various other raw materials have been ferried across the Pacific, notably copper and hides for shoes (50,000 in September from Swift and Armour, and 1,000,000 more to go in 1938).

All of this has cost money, much money. Formerly Japan was able to balance accounts somewhat by its exports of raw silk, cotton goods, and other manufactured products. These have now declined. The boycott, plus the depression, hit silk exports, and Japan's restrictions on some 500 items of import struck a blow at cotton-cloth manufacture. Military supplies take precedence over everything else. Hence the 750,000 bales of cotton which Japan bought here in four months of 1936 declined to 101,650 bales in the same period of 1937. This decline in exports caused by lack of raw materials was accelerated by other things. Italy cut into the Egyptian market; India began to develop its own textile industries; Great Britain is winning back shipping and freight routes in India which had been surrendered to Japan. A dangerous downward spiral is now in full swing in Japan's economy fewer imports of raw materials, fewer exports of finished goods, and so on down to economic collapse if the war lasts long enough. The acquisition of coal and iron mines in China may stay the collapse, but the situation is undoubtedly serious.

Declining exports mean that more and more of the war-material imports must be paid for in gold. About $250,000,000 in gold has already been shipped to this country to cover purchases, and more will be needed.

Meanwhile a great change has come over American industry with respect to Japanese war business. "When recovery ran high," says Eliot Janeway, "exports to Japan were drops in the bucket. Today they have become substantial factors maintaining activity in the steel, oil, machinery, and other industries." At first American business asked for prepayment in full before accepting orders, but when the depression deepened, the "cash

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with the order" policy was modified. Orders were accepted on the basis of 40 per cent down and the rest on delivery. Now there is talk of a $50,000,000 credit to Japan for purchases here. Meanwhile Japan's war orders, which have brought a measure of prosperity to the war traders, have resulted in a great decline in cotton sales, evening out the score for business as a whole. Of one thing there can be no doubt, however, and that is that the United States is an important factor in keeping the Japanese war juggernaut rolling.

The Rise of Konrad Henlein

BY LUDWIG LORE

IN OCTOBER of 1933 chance took me to the little town of Trautenau in Czechoslovakia close to the German border, a few hours by train from the German Silesian city of Breslau. The only hotel in the place was an ancient stone structure looking over a small market square where about fifty Czech peasant women were displaying their wares to the German housewives of the Sudeten German community. At supper time, as I sat in the handsome parlor of the inn, I heard a sudden outburst of loud cheering from the German burghers who had drifted in to spend the evening. The innkeeper himself hastened over to my table to tell me the news. "Germany has withdrawn from the League of Nations," he announced with shining eyes. "We have just received the news over the long-distance telephone from Breslau."

Konrad Henlein

"Would the American gentleman take a seat at the Bürgermeister's table?" I spent the next hour as a cautious spectator of what was practically a National Socialist celebration. These people were consciously or unconsciously part of a movement that was in all respects a replica of German Nazism in its less lawless phases, displaying the same intense nationalism, the same bitter hatred of the Jew, the same aggressiveness toward other nationalities, the same imbedded sense of frustration.

Not long afterward I read in a Prague newspaper that a certain Konrad Henlein, head of the German Gymnastic Federation (*Turnverband*) of Bohemia, had issued a proclamation calling on all Sudeten Germans to unite. I inquired about the man. Nobody seemed to know him, but everybody seemed to feel that his appeal had struck a responsive chord in the German minority along the border. "Our Germans," I was told, "will go with Henlein because one must go with one's own people."

To understand the instinctive response of Czechoslovakia's Germans to Henlein's appeal one must know their past. The Sudeten region was never part of the German Empire, though the people are of German stock. Their forefathers came to the country in the eighth and ninth centuries as settlers at the invitation of the Bohemian kings, who valued them as a progressive ferment among the stolid, earth-bound Czechs. With their political, lingual, and cultural privileges and their natural energy, adaptability, and efficiency they soon outdistanced their Czech neighbors in developing prosperous industrial communities.

Under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy these Germans were a people set apart. If they knew the Czech language at all, it was through intercourse with their servants and their tradesmen. Socially they had no intercourse with their non-German countrymen. Promised increased political power in Europe as their share in the victory of the Central Powers, they were bitterly humiliated by the repression to which they were subjected after the defeat, for the Czech government made cruel and foolish mistakes in the first years after Versailles. Moreover, this once prosperous border area has suffered almost uninterrupted economic depression since it became part of Czechoslovakia. Impoverished by German inflation in 1922 and by overcapitalization in the succeeding boom period, Sudeten German business never regained its pre-war prosperity, and it wilted and died when Germany closed its borders to imports. For the Sudeten German worker the last twenty years have been a period of almost continuous unemployment and privation.

Germans and Czechs have the same claim to unemployment relief. German and Czech schoolchildren receive the same school lunch, for which the government pays out three million kronen annually. By maintaining scrupulous supervision over all welfare activities—the distribution of food to the needy, medical care for the sick, camps for unemployed youth, public works, and recreational centers—the government insures a fair distribution among the various racial groups. Compared with similar measures in Germany, these social services make a respectable showing. But in the last analysis the economic problem of the Sudeten Germans, like that of the Welsh miners and our own Southern share-croppers, is too fundamental to be solved by panaceas.

It is not generally known that National Socialism

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originated in Bohemia. The pan-German, Carl von Schönerer, who first propounded the National Socialist theory and organized his nationalist *Arbeiter Vereine* to offset the influence of the growing Socialist movement in Austria came from the Sudeten region. In 1918 the German Labor Party changed its name to National Socialist Party and under Jung and Krebs became the expression of the movement for German autonomy. Its "voluntary" dissolution in October, 1933, first brought Henlein into prominence, for his *Heimatsfront* was just what the National Socialists needed—a legal organization in which they could continue to function and a following that would be receptive to their idea.

Five years ago Henlein's name was unknown outside of *Turnverband* circles. He is an unimpressive person, slight of build, of average height, youthful in appearance, with an air of good nature and sincerity, and of not too great intelligence. He strikes one as an unimaginative, plodding sort of fellow, the type to do a good organizing job and leave the serious work of thinking to his masters. In the World War he fought in the Austrian army on the Italian front, was severely wounded and taken prisoner. Returning home he took a bank clerk's job in Gablonz but found the work too confining and gladly accepted an appointment as gymnastic instructor in the Reichenberg *Turnverein*. In the course of events he became the head of the association of German gymnastic societies.

In pre-war Bohemia there had always been sharp rivalry between the German *Turnvereine* and the so-called *Sokols* of the Czechs. Both organizations devoted themselves as much to cultural and national as to physical aims, and the *Turnvereine* became hotbeds of German nationalist sentiment. Anti-Semitic the Sudeten Germans had always been.

For years Henlein offered lip-service to democracy and the unity of the Czechoslovakian state. He found this easy since he had the secret and open support of the Czech reactionaries, to whom his implacable opposition to Marxism was not the least of his attractions. When he terrorized the Sudeten Germans into giving his party a substantial majority in the 1935 local and national elections, they closed both eyes. They ignored the treasonable propaganda of his papers. They made no protest when his followers took possession by force of the German student home in Prague and drove out the Jews from this ancient center of German culture. They welcomed his attacks on Russia and the democratic Czech government and its treaty with the U. S. S. R. At the same time their unfair treatment of the German population was just what Henlein needed to inflame the German-speaking population against the government and make it receptive to his propaganda for authoritarian rule.

The recent history of the Henlein movement is quickly told. In the national election of May, 1935, the *Heimatsfront* took the name Sudeten German Party and won two-thirds of the German vote, while the German Social Democratic Party (of Czechoslovakia) lost 50 per cent and the German Agrarian Party 60 per cent of its votes and mandates. The campaign was carried on in true Nazi revivalist style. Every known chicanery was practiced. Henlein himself refused to run for parliament, but every deputy elected by the Sudeten German Party was required to acknowledge his personal leadership, thus establishing an extra-parliamentary allegiance which must of necessity undermine democratic rule. The party's work in the national parliament has been consistently negative. It spurned Hodza's efforts to bring about an understanding between the government and the German minority. It blocked the strikes of workers for better conditions.

During all this time Henlein kept up the fiction of allegiance to the Czechoslovakian state and indignantly denied any connection with the National Socialist Party of Germany or the Hitler government. That bubble was finally exploded when he accepted the invitation of the German government to attend the winter Olympics in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in February, 1936, as the honored guest of the Third Reich. The immediate result of Henlein's new orientation was a split in the Sudeten German Party. The purely nationalist elements discovered what everybody else had known for years—that their party was being run by the suppressed National Socialists and was taking orders from their masters in the Reich.

These elements also objected to Henlein's too close alliance with the Czech reactionaries. The conference of officials in which these questions were thrashed out met in a stormy session. Henlein pointed out that the party must support those elements which promoted German interests against the government with its Russo-French alliance. In the end Henlein was sustained by 3,506 votes; only three persons cast votes against him, and one abstained from voting. The opposition leaders were expelled from the now frankly authoritarian party. Henlein's position was clear at last.

That was the situation before Hitler's coup in Austria. What is it now? Henlein and his followers declare that they wish to remain in Czechoslovakia but insist on autonomy for the German districts. Prague has made generous concessions—more than it can afford for its own security—but Henlein is not satisfied. Under the proposed agreement the German cities and townships would have absolute self-government in all local matters. They would have equal representation with the Czechs in all provincial and national commissions dealing with Sudeten German affairs. The Sudeten German Party would enjoy all the rights and privileges of other political parties. A year ago when Premier Hodza concluded an agreement with the anti-Nazi "Activists," who comprise one-third of the Sudeten German population, the central government leaned over backward to meet the just demands of German citizens. German schools were opened in localities where there were only five or six German schoolchildren.

Though Henlein denies it, the ultimate goal of his party is clearly the transference of Bohemia to the Third Reich. Ethnographically that would solve no problems, for there are German communities in every part of the republic. Geographically it would establish artificial boundaries that could not endure because what would be left of Czechoslovakia would be entirely unprotected.

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For the present Henlein's party insists on district autonomy with the leadership principle, that is, the introduction of the Swiss cantonal system on a National Socialist foundation. Negotiations between Premier Hodza and Konrad Henlein through his parliamentary lieutenant Dr. Frank have been broken off. The Czech government would have been willing to introduce the cantonal system for its important minorities, but Henlein and Frank insisted on totalitarian autonomy with self-rule on all racial, economic, and cultural problems. Berlin insisted on a plebiscite, which Prague refused because the Germans demanded that the four choices to be voted on should include secession and authoritarian rule under a cantonal system.

The situation has been complicated in the past week by the action of other minorities in the republic. Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, and two small German parties have formed a common front with the Sudenten Germans and are demanding self-rule. They are backed by Göring's Dortmund newspaper, which suggests partition of Czechoslovakia among Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and by the official Warsaw press. Premier Hodza's decision for a new general election will not settle matters.

It is not likely that Prague will go farther to placate the Reich. Czechoslovak statesmen quote Bismarck, who once said of their country, "He who holds Bohemia controls Europe." France and England, they say, will have to help. If they refuse and Czechoslovakia falls, it will mean war, a war in which neither France nor Britain could remain neutral, for Germany's victory would mean the final overthrow of the balance-of-power system, and the Rome-Berlin axis would then dominate Europe.

What British Labor Demands

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

THE abyss between the British Labor Party and Mr. Chamberlain's policy deepens as the days go by. Now that he has taken his stand upon a policy which involves the abandonment of Central and Southeastern Europe to the dictators, the differences which have been gathering ever since the abandonment of sanctions over Abyssinia come ever more rapidly to a head. They depend upon ultimate conceptions between which there is no real possibility of reconciliation. Mr. Chamberlain, openly, has thrown over the League and collective security. He is interested only in the traditional game of power politics in its most naked form. Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia—he is prepared to abandon all these to their fate on the ground that their future is not directly a concern of Great Britain. He has no interest in the maintenance of the eastern frontier of the Soviet Union. So long as the British Empire and its direct lines of communication are not immediately threatened, there is no price he will not pay for peace.

This is, in effect, a revolution in British foreign policy. It is a denial of the principles for which the Labor Party has stood ever since the close of the war. More, it is a denial even of the principles for which Lord Baldwin asked support when he won the general election of 1935. It is a return to the traditional outlook of the pre-war epoch—the attitude which made war certain in 1914. It is based, I think, on two motives: (1) it seeks to avoid war as in itself a catastrophe; and (2) it calculates that if war comes it will be a threat, possibly a fatal threat, to the existing economic interests of the empire. It assumes that the triumph of the dictators is a matter of indifference to Great Britain as long as the empire itself is unaffected by their triumph. It implies, without conscious formulation, that the residuary legatee of their defeat would be the Bolshevists. Since it judges that this is incompatible with the maintenance of the existing economic order, Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues prefer to stand aside from the issues raised by the dictators. They rearm lest the consequences threaten Great Britain. But they assume that the "ideological conflict" in Western Europe is one in which they have no concern. That their inertia in the face of that conflict is, in objective fact, a direct assistance to the dictators they refuse to admit to themselves.

There was a moment in 1935 when support for the British government from the Labor Party seemed possible. Mr. Baldwin spoke of collective security as the axis of its policy. Sir Samuel Hoare spoke brave words to the same effect at Geneva in September of that year. It was not until after the general election that the mask was thrown off. Since then it has become grimly clear that Mr. Chamberlain and the Labor Party do not dwell in the same world. For Labor, the root of the present situation is the inability of capitalism in decay to make terms with democracy. In its imperialist phase capitalism is bound to fight for markets, colonies, and spheres of economic interests. Rival imperialist states clash because in our society the relations of production are entirely at variance with the forces of production. Fundamental economic change is therefore the clue to international peace. Within the framework of the existing economic order a decaying capitalism cannot maintain the peace. The problem it confronts is only that of when the war will come. It becomes necessary both to rearm for it and to stand aside from any conflict in which the immediate interest of a given capitalist state is not involved.

For Labor, peace is indivisible. The growth of fascism is a threat both to Labor's existing defenses and its further development. Where fascism is victorious, the

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free trade unions disappear, the cooperative movement is destroyed, the Socialist Party is suppressed. The masses are left helpless before the ability of the owning class to extract profit at any cost; and the need for profit involves, necessarily, that "spirited" foreign policy which means rearmament, and consequently insecurity and war. For British Labor, therefore, the frontiers are in Spain, in China, in Czechoslovakia, wherever, in short, a victory for fascism threatens. The safeguard against its advance is collective security—the alliance, that is, of those powers which are prepared to unite against aggressive action by the fascist states. Labor, therefore, as in its declarations of policy after the resignation of Mr. Eden and the rape of Austria, takes its stand upon collective security. It demands, internally, a general election in order that the country may decide between Chamberlainism and its alternative. It demands, externally, an alliance of France, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain to act collectively against the policy represented by Hitler and Mussolini.

This is not merely a negative policy. Labor is prepared for the internationalization of the British crown colonies. It is prepared for the lowering of economic barriers—the great network of tariffs, quotas, currency restrictions, and so on which hamper the revival of international trade. But the conditions of this attitude are (1) the revival of the League by the reentrance of Germany and Italy, and (2) disarmament. Labor takes the view that Mr. Chamberlain is in fact preparing for an imperialist war on the old model and that in such a war the masses which it represents can have no interest. Labor would not be able to support a war which had no other object than the consolidation of the British Empire against its rivals. That consolidation would not, in its judgment, solve any of the vital problems before Europe at the present time. In its behalf Mr. Chamberlain rearms on a level which, as he himself has said, postpones the possibility of any major social reform for a generation. To it, further, are sacrificed the remaining areas of political and social freedom in Europe, with no realization that the greater their shrinkage the less hope there is of stemming the tide of fascism, whose appetite grows by what it feeds on, or of maintaining the democratic political structure of Great Britain itself. For Labor, in short, the "ideological conflict" is one in which Great Britain must choose. It cannot hope to remain an oasis of capitalist democracy in a world of expanding fascism. For capitalist democracy is not static. To continue to be democratic, it must readjust the relations between ownership and the forces of production. That readjustment is the essential adventure. It is also the adventure upon which Mr. Chamberlain refuses to embark. The game he is playing is the time-honored division of his enemies abroad, the playing for time so that when he feels that pressure may be exerted he can strike with the maximum effect. The Labor Party denies that this policy will solve any of the vital problems. On the contrary, the evidence is clear that its result is daily to make fascism stronger. Its ultimate consequence is to leave the masses helpless before the power of capitalism. It means an attack on the Soviet Union and, quite certainly, a world war, by which time all the minor powers will have been drawn into the orbit of fascist influence.

The strategy that Labor has to follow is of extraordinary complexity. (1) It has to run the risk of being denounced as a war-mongering party. That Mr. Chamberlain has already done. The truth is that neither he nor the Labor Party considers peace the highest good. But there is a world of difference between them as to the objectives of peace, the ends for which the use of force would be justified. (2) It has to fight for a general election at a time when all the interests of Mr. Chamberlain are against seeking a popular verdict. He has lost prestige through Mr. Eden's resignation. He has lost prestige through the patent refusal of Hitler and Mussolini to refrain from further aggression since he began negotiations with them. He has lost prestige by the fact that internal improvements have necessarily to be sacrified to his policy of rearmament. A general election could only be forced by a series of spectacular Labor successes at by-elections or by the internal break-up of the Cabinet. There is some prospect that either or both of these may occur. But it is clear that Mr. Chamberlain will do everything he can to avoid a popular verdict. (3) It has to find allies who are prepared to stand with it for a reversal of the present trends. There are such allies—Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Cecil, perhaps Mr. Churchill. Alliance with them is difficult because of the narrowness of the area Labor occupies with them. All of them stand for the present economic order. It is doubtful whether any would be willing to pay the price of Socialist measures for a foreign policy they would approve. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill, notably, are simply British imperialists whose anti-fascism is much more a recognition that the dictators are a threat to the British Empire than a recognition of the bankruptcy of capitalism. (4) It is useless to conceal the fact that the Russian trials have had a serious effect upon British opinion, even within the Labor Party itself, and made Anglo-Soviet understanding far more difficult than it was two or three years ago. Yet it is clear that the defense of the Soviet Union must be a pivotal principle of Socialist policy. (5) Connected with this is the necessity for a united front. It would be highly dangerous for the Labor Party to enter into relations with those who see the dangers of Mr. Chamberlain's policy if the working-class forces in Great Britain remain, as now, divided. To any sort of Popular Front against fascism the united front of working-class parties is a necessary prelude.

We are playing a game against time. The situation daily deteriorates. The British government is confused and fumbling. Its habits aid, consciously or unconsciously, the policy of the dictators at every turn. The duty of the Labor Party is immediate clarification of its own mind as the basis of a great popular movement to drive Mr. Chamberlain out. Unless it can do this in the next few months, it will be too late to save the situation. I believe it is still possible to call the bluff of fascism. It may not be possible to do so six months from now.

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

AMERICAN history will never record a more extraordinary career than that of the late Colonel Edward M. House. Here was a man from Texas, wholly without experience in international affairs, who through his adoration of President Wilson and the President's admiration for him came to play a most important role in the destiny of the American people—without his ever holding any office. The two men had not met before the Presidential campaign, but as H. N. Brailsford has put it, "House had a way of impressing his personality with some unconscious magic on those with whom he talked. He seemed curiously modest. He talked very simply. One felt . . . his courtesy and sincerity." Yet he could be absolutely insincere and constantly was. He made the militarists feel he was with them and the pacifists believe he was on their side, but he gloated in his diary that when a group of pacifists came to see him he stirred up a controversy between them and that this "as usual . . . delights me." He was both for and against America's going into the war, but finally the former point of view prevailed and he made an agreement in 1916 to put this country into war on the side of the Allies. He, a plain, unofficial citizen, promised the British statesmen that if the Allies could make no headway in the war, Mr. Wilson would demand a peace conference, and that if the Germans then refused the terms House had outlined, the United States would enter the war. He had no authority from the President to do this and none from the Congress, which alone according to the Constitution has the war-making power. He held no office, and yet he actually pledged what came to pass—America's entry into the war! There is no parallel to it in all our history. He was more powerful than the Cabinet; he constantly molded the President's policies and frequently shaped his speeches.

With all that, he was a man of extraordinary naivete. Often the foreign statesmen were appalled by his simplicity and inexperience in world events. It seems incredible but it is a fact that in 1913, a year before the war, he offered to the Kaiser an alliance with the United States! Said he: "I spoke of the community of interest between England, Germany, and the United States, and thought if they stood together the peace of the world could be maintained." On January 11, 1916, he told Balfour and Gray that Wilson would enter into agreements with the European nations on such matters as navalism, militarism, and the like. A month later he told Briand and Cambon that "the lower the fortunes of the Allies ebbed, the closer the United States would stand by them." Yet he was constantly fooled by the British diplomats; he had never heard of the secret treaties until I published them in the New York *Evening Post* in January, 1917, and Lincoln Colcord sent him some copies of the reprints. The utter confusion of his mind is well illustrated by a sentence he wrote on June 23, 1916: "It is not the people who speak, but their masters, and some day, I pray, the voice of the people may have direct expression in international affairs as they are beginning to have it in national affairs." He saw no inconsistency in the fact that he was plotting all the time, with Wilson's consent and approval, to put the American people into the war without asking their consent or even giving their representatives in Congress a chance to speak or to know what was going on behind the scenes.

Had his mind been clear and logical he would have suffered greatly when he lived to see the complete collapse of the victory over which he and Mr. Wilson had so exulted. But on being asked what he had to say when Hitler finally tore up the Treaty of Versailles, he properly begged off because of his advanced age. He knew that the Treaty of Versailles was bad, yet he advised Mr. Wilson to sign it. Indeed, he assured him that the victory made him on Armistice Day the greatest figure in the history of the world—he held his friendship with Mr. Wilson intact as long as he did because of his constant adulation. It is, however, pleasant to record that on his seventy-fourth birthday he admitted that the President's almost unlimited power to put the country into war constituted a grave national peril. Finally this "strangest of friendships" came to an end.

In these times the moral of Colonel House's career should be kept constantly before the American people. Strong forces in and out of the government are at work to put this country into war with Japan as a prelude to our going to the rescue of the democracies in Europe, which by their faults of omission and commission have put themselves in a position where they are powerless to stay the advance of the dictators. The American people to the last man and woman ought to be told again how Colonel House's activities helped to bring on war in 1917 and how the fate of their children may still be settled by two or three men in and out of office. Mr. Wilson was probably not aware of all the things Colonel House was doing in Europe. How else can one explain his allowing a private citizen to offer a treaty of alliance to the Kaiser? Surely had he been conscious of what this implied he would have at least consulted the two committees of the Congress charged with supervising our foreign affairs. We now know the result of the Wilson and House conduct of our foreign policy. The greatest question before the American people today is whether history shall repeat itself and we go to war again.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE BAPTISM OF ARISTOTLE AND MARX

BY SIDNEY HOOK

OF LATE many signs point to a militant reassertion of Catholic philosophy in American culture. Whether this movement is directly connected with the growing interest—and role—of the church in the political scene is difficult to say. But it throws a revealing light upon the character of the appeal which neo-Thomism makes to restless minds in search of a center. It also indicates something of the ideological strategy which devotees of the perennial philosophy may pursue in adapting themselves to the leftward swirling currents of American life. To Professor Mortimer J. Adler belongs the distinction of having dusted off the scholastic philosophy and in a series of provocative books, the latest of which is "What Man Has Made of Man,"* sent it into the arena of doctrinal controversy to do combat against modern heresies in education, politics, law, morals, psychology, art, and science. Basing himself upon the work of Jacques Maritain, whom he hails as the possible Aquinas of our age, he challenges all comers. Nor have his challenges been devoid of influence. His writings have probably irritated more people than they have convinced, but the argumentative skill of Professor Adler, together with his strategic educational position at the University of Chicago, whose president has urged the reform of higher education in accordance with the spirit of Adler's thought, makes it necessary to give his position more critical attention than until now it has received.

Professor Adler's work is best calculated to impress those practicing scientists and professional men who are untouched by any methodological sophistication. Avowing that they hold no philosophy of science or the naive one of just following the facts, it turns out that they are almost always talking bad philosophy. It is not difficult to shock them into a realization of its inadequacy. To this debating skill Adler adds an ability to translate the positions held by those whom he criticizes into scholastic terminology. And he very persuasively offers a fair field for the scientist to pursue his "surface investigations," provided he leaves the real, the good, and the intelligible to the metaphysician and theologian. The scientist is given a promise of autonomy the exact lines of which are laid down in advance and for all time by the metaphysician, whose truths are absolute, universal, and necessary. On some subjects, such as the specific nature of God, freedom, and immortality, the metaphysician must bow to sacred theology—Catholic theology.

It is a strange but eloquent fact that although Mr. Adler has made short shrift, and with justice, of many vague and pretentious scientific ideologies, he has nowhere attempted to come to grips with the thought of critical empirical philosophers. He has only marginal comments to make on outstanding empirical philosophers who have long since abandoned the Aristotelianism he has so recently embraced, dragged its hidden assumptions into the light, and submitted them to devastating critiques. It is easy, for example, to convict scientists of discussing values without knowing that it is values they are discussing; or of handling problems which involve values as if they could be solved with the same techniques that are used in ascertaining simple matters of fact. It is an entirely different matter to meet the empirical theory of value on its own ground and to defend one's own authoritarian spiritualism against the criticisms of naturalist philosophers. Since all matters of policy, whether of personal conduct or social action, involve assertions of value, any sharp divorce of the realm of values from scientific inquiry into their causes and consequences leads abruptly to obscurantism in morality and politics. Relieved of the checks and controls of scientific method, skilful apologists can foist upon the unwary a reactionary ideology under the banner of the sovereignty of philosophy.

In the present work, devoted to the errors of Platonism and positivism in psychology, Mr. Adler offers the outline of a comprehensive argument for the true position in almost every discipline ranging from ontology to psychoanalysis. He makes bold claims for philosophy. From handmaiden to the sciences it is raised to be their queen. It is represented as a body of knowledge whose content and validity are completely independent of the results of scientific inquiry. The latter is concerned with phenomenal correlations; the former with essential causes. Since what is true for all of experience cannot be contravened by any science which reports on some special mode of experience, philosophy rules the sciences. Like the pope, philosophy is infallible but not impeccable—infallible about the relations of the sciences to one another and about the legitimacy of the "interpretations" of their findings, not impeccable about specific matters of fact. The fundamental principles and concepts of "general physics" as well as the principles of inference employed in all the special sciences are supplied by metaphysics. And psychology as the study of man's knowledge of himself is a philosophical discipline. "Philosophy, answering the basic questions, necessarily subordinates as well as interprets and regulates scientific research."

There is an ill-concealed arrogance in Mr. Adler's references to contemporary science and modern philosophy which indicates that he has imbibed the dogmatism

*"What Man Has Made of Man. A Study of the Consequences of Platonism and Positivism in Psychology." By Mortimer J. Adler. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.50.

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of Catholic philosophy but not its wisdom. Contemporary science, in so far as it is a quest for causes, illustrates little more to him than the fallacy of affirming the consequent, and modern philosophy "is an attenuation of the ancient and modern tradition, confounded by the repetition of old errors." Yet there is a whole cluster of assumptions that are coolly begged in the face of a small library of critical literature which deals with them: for example, that there are self-evident, axiomatic truths of reason and immediate, absolutely known truths of perception; that a science whose conclusions are not entailed by these first truths can only give pseudo-knowledge or opinion; that statements which cannot possibly be tested by experience (for example, on Transcendentals, God, Substance, etc.) are significant; that adequate premises for a rational study of nature must express the essential natures of things. According to Adler man is essentially a rational animal. According to modern science neither man nor anything else is *essentially* this or that. "Essential" is a teleological term, delimiting a problem, a context, and a purposeful inquiry of some sort. Adler's "essential" premises, forms, insights are disguised definitions. As definitions they are either adequate or inadequate to the purposes at hand. They are neither true nor false. The history of experimental science is to a large extent the history of its struggles to liberate itself from the Aristotelian conception of fixed essential kinds and natures. Although nominally Adler declares that science is independent of any philosophy, he insists that no science whose fundamental categories are not Aristotelian can be intelligible. One merely asks: intelligible to whom?

Mr. Adler, however, is not only an Aristotelian. Just as he is compelled to perform major operations upon the logic of science to force it into an Aristotelian mold, he must also cut Aristotle to the pattern of Catholic purpose. This appears very clearly in his psychological discussion, particularly in his silent suppression of the revisions which Aquinas makes in Aristotle to reconcile him with the demands of religious faith. Adler almost always couples Aristotle and Aquinas together as if there were no important differences between the two either in metaphysics or psychology. Yet modern critical behaviorists could with as good, if not better, warrant construe their theory of mind out of the writings of Aristotle as Adler the Thomistic view of the soul. He writes *both* as an Aristotelian and a Thomist but blandly ignores the difficulty of showing how the Thomistic doctrines of Transcendentals, Analogy, Exemplarism, Creation, personal immortality, Providence—to mention only a few—can be squared with the principles of Aristotle's first philosophy. Platonism and positivism are castigated as twin enemies of the true philosophy of Aquinas. Yet he can hardly be unaware of the fact that in the interest of religious dogma, Aquinas was compelled to Platonize Aristotle, to make the existence of man and his soul, for example, depend upon God and not upon the essence of man, and therewith convert the logical distinction which Aristotle makes between essence and existence into a real separation. Like most people who revive an archaic doctrine for a contemporary purpose, Adler serves up an unhistorical version of Aristotle which few Aristotelian scholars who do not have to be mindful of the doctrinal necessities of sacred theology are likely to accept. Even the best among modern Thomists, like Gilson, are careful to point out that Aquinas, for all his indebtedness to Aristotle, was preeminently a Christian philosopher.

The baptism of Aristotle is an old story, and Adler is here following along a path which was beaten centuries before. Not so, however, with his attempt to baptize Marx or to turn Aquinas into a Marxist. How his frocked brethren will gasp when they read, "I have often been tempted to use the name 'dialectical materialism' for the traditional metaphysics of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas; for if the Marxists fully understood their own doctrine they would be hylomorphists or formal materialists." Now if Marxism represents any philosophical tendency it is that of scientific materialism; it has no place for traditional metaphysics, which presumably arrives at truths not confirmable by the sciences. Marxism also affirms that knowledge, or theory, makes a difference in history. This leads Adler to the non-sequitur that Marxists believe that "in human history reason is an independent cause," and that only the philosophy of Aristotle and Aquinas is compatible with this belief. What Adler fails to realize is that, in the Marxist view, knowledge can make a difference precisely because it is a form of behavior. It may not be completely dependent upon physico-chemical forces but dependent in some sense it must be if it is to have practical effect. The Marxist theories of mind, knowledge, and history are completely antithetical to Thomism. None the less he writes: "The Marxian can take the second [Thomist] position without altering his view of the shifting struggle of classes, without yielding in his justifiable moral condemnations of capitalism. In fact, he is strengthened in the latter if he become a Thomist." The context leaves unclear whether "the latter" refers to the whole of Marxism or only to its moral condemnation of capitalism. It is certainly a unique idea. One can be a good Marxist only if one is a good Thomist. Adler will admit that a good Marxist must accept the class struggle, and its consequences—the Marxian theory of the state and revolution. What happens then to good Thomism? It looks as if Adler were already improving the Pope on points of doctrine. But what will the Archbishop of Chicago say?

It "can be simply shown," says Adler, that Marxian materialism is the formal materialism of Aquinas. And it is the veriest child's play for a virtuoso of Mr. Adler's order to show that the same is true for psychoanalysis. Addressing an audience of psychoanalysts, before whom these lectures were delivered, he claims that "psychoanalysts do not understand their places in this tradition, and as a result they do not understand their own doctrine." Freud like Marx is to be corrected not by scientific psychology, sociology, and history but by Thomist metaphysics. It is simply impossible to understand oneself unless one is a Thomist. But this last is only a necessary but not sufficient condition, for if Adler is right it seems as if most Thomists, too, have failed to understand

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themselves, particularly their close kinship to Marxism.

It would not be unfair to say that Mr. Adler fails to give even a remotely adequate account of the logic of scientific inquiry. The fruitfulness of science, or, better, opinion, appears miraculous on his definition of knowledge. The scientists, according to Adler, may explain the world in a descriptive sense, but they cannot understand it. Yet nowhere does he explain clearly the difference between explaining the world and understanding it. Further, it is obvious that Adler is not a genuine Aristotelian, for no Catholic philosopher can be. It is also obvious that he is not a Marxist except by the most arbitrary kind of definition. Nor a psychoanalyst of any known variety. But clearest of all is the fact that in making the Thomists clear to themselves his own Thomism emerges as a wild heresy. It is doubtful whether it would ever have received the *nihil obstat*. I must confess to a constitutional sympathy for all varieties of heresy. But the Adlerian heresy, in blurring what should be carefully distinguished, strikes me as more dangerous than the clear-featured conservatism of orthodox Catholic philosophy. While other Catholic philosophers attack Marx, Dewey, and other naturalists to prevent inroads upon the flock of the faithful, Adler indicates the way in which the "sound" aspects of their doctrine can be absorbed in the Thomist tradition. His techniques make possible the claim that whatever is or will be true is already part of that tradition. In this way doctrines that cannot be refuted or suppressed can be corrupted by adoption.

BOOKS

"Great Hatred, Little Room"

A PURSE OF COPPERS. By Sean O'Faolain. The Viking Press. $2.50.

SEAN O'FAOLAIN'S new collection of stories is more realistic than any of his previous work. He has learned to control the passages of poetic prose which, in Irish writing, can be tiresome as often as they are enchanting. The modern generation of Irish writers is not much tempted toward atmosphere blown forward from the early and dreamy days of the Celtic renaissance. The Irishman who writes prose now realizes the rich field for straight observation his country offers him: a terrain populated by distinct, contradictory characters, elsewhere more or less absorbed into the colorless stream of modern life, but in Ireland preserved, by bitter circumstance, intact, as under glass. In the twenty years since Joyce first treated the Irish middle class to a merciless cold flood of satire, the Irish have been relearning how congenial to their temperament the ironic, unvarnished account of things actually is. The bards did not spend much time brooding over beauty. They told the truth, and in consequence, it is said, raised blisters on listeners' cheeks and made the tails drop off rats.

Yeats has ascribed the rebirth of Irish realism to several causes. The habit of fierce resentment, for centuries turned against the English, finally, that target becoming of less importance, began to be expended upon Ireland itself, in factionalism and otherwise.

> Out of Ireland have we come.
> Great hatred, little room,
> Maimed us at the start . . .

Yeats wrote in 1931. Then, too, the old audience of sentimental, half-cultivated Anglo-Irish landowners, merchants, and officials that "preferred frieze-coated humorists, daredevils upon horseback, to ordinary men and women, . . . that welcomed the vivid imaginations of Lover, Lever, and Somerville and Ross," had disappeared. At present, the new audience, although long trained to satire and peasant comedy, has not completely found itself. And the present regime in Ireland has set a number of hurdles, including a semi-religious censorship, which hamper the free run of Irish talent. But the fact that this talent continues to correct its romantic side—even though that side received refreshment during the Troubles—is a healthy sign. While O'Flaherty, Frank O'Connor, and O'Faolain continue their dissection of Ireland past and present, there is little chance that the standard romantic Irishman will be reassembled from the component parts into which he has been broken down.

O'Faolain is particularly good at presenting the self-deceived, half-talented Irish type, the artist *manqué*, defeated partly by poverty and partly by the division in his own nature. He shows us clearly, too, the peasant crossed with the townsman, a combination which brings out the worst qualities of both. And that disconcerting and most neglected Irish type, the humorless Irishman with a passion for abstract thinking, stands out, in one story, Admiring the Scenery, in bleak relief against the imaginative tenderness of a companion. A Purse of Coppers accents the Irish tendency to play to the hilt a chosen role in life even though, to a disinterested observer, it seems to be the wrong one. And Irish provincialism and Irish Catholicism—so peculiar to the country that they resemble only faintly provincialism and Catholicism elsewhere—are scrutinized by O'Faolain with a not entirely untender precision. O'Faolain is not out after pure eccentricity. He is not holding Joyce's hate-sharpened scalpel in his hand. Nor is he pointing up his people into burlesque figures that can be recognized with howls of laughter. He and the rest of his generation are beginning to strike a steady mean between the two methods, while behind them, fortunately, the Irish Twilight dwindles to negligible dimensions.

LOUISE BOGAN

Soviet Medicine

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN THE SOVIET UNION. By Henry E. Sigerist. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

THE medical care supplied the people of a state is an accurate index of the social development of that state. A consideration of medical practice in Russia therefore should be of great value in an appraisal of the Soviet Union's progress toward its expressed aims of social justice and economic security. A study of socialized medicine actually in operation should also be of particular interest to the student of American medicine, since even the most conservative admit that the solution of its problems and maladjustments will require some form of socialization.

Dr. Sigerist, who is professor of the history of medicine at the Johns Hopkins University, offers a careful and scholarly study of the subject. He not only describes in detail the operation of Soviet medicine but indicates its place in the

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development of medical practice throughout the world and its relation to the social philosophy of the Soviet Union. The book contains a wealth of detailed information: moneys expended, beds available, hospitals built, students enrolled, and so on and on. Fourteen elaborate appendices describe the organization of health services, laws relating to health, the curricula in colleges, the organization of research, and other similar matters.

Certain broad questions come up repeatedly in all discussions of Soviet medicine: (1) What does socialized medicine in the Soviet Union propose to do? (2) What has it actually accomplished? (3) How does it function? How is it administered and financed? (4) How is research organized?

In answering the first, Dr. Sigerist writes:

> The general idea is to supervise the human being medically, in a discreet and unobtrusive way, from the moment of conception to the moment of death. Medical workers and medical institutions are placed wherever anyone, in the course of his life, is exposed to dangers. Medical supervision begins with the pregnant woman and the woman in childbirth, proceeds to the infant, the pre-school and school child, the adolescent, and finally the man and woman at work. This is an entirely new medical attitude.

He considers the following four points the most characteristic features of the Soviet health system:

> (1) Medical service is free and therefore available to all. (2) The prevention of disease is in the foreground of all health activities. (3) All health activities are directed by central bodies, the People's Commissariats of Health, with the result that (4) health can be planned on a large scale.

The crucial question of what Soviet medicine has accomplished Dr. Sigerist considers at length in two chapters entitled The Protection of Groups and The Protection of the Individual. Statistically the record of Soviet medicine is a brilliant one, in pace with other technical and industrial advances under the various five-year plans. The data collected in this book show that hospital bed capacity has almost doubled in five years, that the incidence of smallpox has been reduced from epidemic proportions to the point where in 1936 only 400 cases were reported in the entire Soviet Union, that the facilities for convalescent care are of a sort not even approached by other countries, that infant mortality rates have been strikingly reduced; and give many other evidences of gigantic accomplishment.

How does Soviet medicine function? The Soviet states have faced a severe problem in building up an adequate medical personnel. They have set the goal of one physician for every thousand persons. In 1936 there were 90,000 physicians, and the estimated number for 1937 is 107,000. At least 50,000 more are needed.

The medical student is chosen by competitive examinations. Once enrolled, he receives a stipend throughout the course of study. After graduating, he is sent for three years to practice in a rural district. Then he is allowed to choose his permanent career, whether it is to be hospital work, research, or preventive medicine. The pay of physicians is considered adequate for a decent living standard; salaries vary in accordance with experience and responsibility.

The emphasis on preventive medicine is so great that many forms of social activity not considered medical in character in other countries are in the Soviet Union an intimate part of medicine. In this category are included the extensive nursery, kindergarten, and school systems by means of which the child is kept under constant medical supervision. The youth movements, the summer camps, housing, food distribution, and sanitation are parts of the medical program.

Actual service to the ill is supplied through a system of health centers which are connected with hospitals, industrial plants, the army and navy, or are determined by geographical factors. Numerous secondary agencies exist to meet the needs of special groups, all planned to place medical service where it will be easily available and efficiently administered.

The question of the personal relationship of physician and patient is considered by Dr. Sigerist. His opinion is that this relationship under the Soviet regime is a satisfactory and desirable one, owing perhaps to the elimination of a medical fee. The quality of medical services he describes as good, with constant attention being directed toward its improvement.

The funds for medical needs come from various sources: about half from social-insurance funds and the rest from state and local-government funds. Small amounts are also obtained from voluntary-aid funds, which exist especially among peasants on collective farms. The health budget for 1936 totaled 6,214,500,000 rubles.

Research is a part of the whole plan on which Soviet society is built. The question at once arises whether this does not stifle individual initiative and independent activity. Dr. Sigerist is emphatic on this point. He says:

> The planning of a national economy raises problems the solution of which is imperative. Definite research institutes are called upon to attack these problems. But there is plenty of room for individual initiative. If a scientist has a promising project of his own, he is encouraged to carry it out and the state finances it. It becomes a part of the general plan. It is obvious that there is scarcely a project that cannot be fitted into a program of such magnitude.

The work of Soviet scientists, which has received recognition throughout the world, testifies to the correctness of this attitude.

The evidence brought together by Dr. Sigerist seems to justify the conclusion that socialized medicine in the Soviet Union has measured up to the standards it has set for itself and that its further development promises even more striking accomplishments.

DAVID BERES

Poet-Reporter

JOURNEYS BETWEEN WARS. By John dos Passos. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

WITH eyes impressionable as those of carnival John dos Passos watches the world. Too human to be a political doctrinaire, avid for the meaning in man's gesture and woman's posture, he is a poet-reporter, full of a fine awareness. In him one can be thankful for the radical neither misanthrope nor dialectician. That terrible immature double stripe of interchangeable tenderness and brutality, merely political and nothing more, is only faintly marked in him.

This is not an autobiographical book; the Dos Passos autobiography is in the Camera Eye of the "U. S. A." trilogy. An assemblage of travel sketches testifying to his precise observation over the past twenty years, "Journeys Between Wars" opens with the lost Spain of "Rosinante to the Road Again," passes through the Levant and Russia, and returns to the Spain of the present. There are side excursions and pauses; he stops at Constantinople, Trebizond, Georgia and the Caucasus, Armenia, Bagdad, Damascus, Morocco, Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Leningrad, Moscow, pays honor to Zapata in Mexico, and teases Blum and Colonel de la Rocque

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and, less fairly, a French minister without portfolio saddled with the fundamentally impossible task of protecting the democratic rights of revolutionary parties. The final passage, a sketch of the communication by telephone of an editorial in the syndicalist paper of Barcelona to another on the far side of the rebel lines, at doomed Gijon, has a poignancy that can be realized only by one who knows how slender are the lines that hold ideas together among the red-eyed, underpaid journalists in the poor little towns of the Mediterranean world.

"Oh, never-to-be-finished Baghdad Bahn that was to have joined the Sultan Shah Mulay Wilhelm Khan Pasha to his eastern dominions, bogy of queasy-livered colonels in the Indian service, Moloch well-fattened with young men's lives, phantom on lurid wheels that ran mad expresses through the eighteen nineties up the steep years of the new century, only to smash up once and for all in the great bloody derailment of the war"—it is all as fine as that, and some even better. Dos Passos refuses to deal in mendacious political abstracts. On leaving Moscow, despite all the hospitality, he somehow gets away without taking the pledge to defend the Soviet Union; he feels it necessary to feel out the future rather than to assert it, and though he does not appear to honor his own Americanism, he always ducks a repudiation of it.

Because the book is artificially put together and the matter of the sketches is momentary, the final effect is not unified. Journalism, no matter how observant and sensitive, cannot give that sense of resolution for which the Western world now hungers. Dos Passos cannot see, any more than we can, how it is all going to turn out; knowing at least as much as the foreign correspondents and having more time than any of them to think it over, he refuses a guess even in terms of the spirit. He has a fine sense of humbleness and a characteristically American clinical approach to ignorance in himself, and perhaps that ought to be enough.

At the unimportant risk of being wrong, however, one can hazard that Dos Passos, who here dares show the first pity for the innocent non-Marxist victims of the revolution that has appeared in an important writer of the left, may in his future chronicles of this sorry time, black as it now appears, include in his understanding all who suffer innocently, whatever side they are on. Should totalitarianism in any form be victorious, his hatred, like ours, will be unremitting. It is for the man of feeling to work for the liberation of spirit, not to administrate it, as some believe, but to spend it all again in terms of mercy. This may seem a counsel of perfection during a retreat like this. But who will guard the counsels of perfection if we do not? GEORGE WELLER

Is Writing Spinach Too?

FASHION IS SPINACH. By Elizabeth Hawes. Random House. $2.75.

MISS HAWES is a genius who makes dresses for rich women, sometimes brilliantly beautiful, sometimes merely eccentric. Her prices run from $150 to $400. As a child Miss Hawes dressed dolls passionately. She dresses living dolls passionately today. She has written here a passionate little-girl book, telling the "news behind the news" about clothes. It is a big story to tell about an important industry, but it's not a big book because there is little of the industry and too much of "I, Elizabeth Hawes" and "an American girl named Hawes."

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$15 for a dress to have one that is better fitting and better looking. She thinks the $15 dress should be made so it lasts a few years instead of a few months. Fine. Her mistake is in thinking that the American woman wants a dress to last a few years. No amount of French, department-store, and manufacturers' propaganda could make women buy new clothes every six months if the change didn't feed some deep need in their personalities. The average woman wants her clothes to wear out. She wants new ones twice a year if she can possibly afford it. She would rather have them of poorer quality, but fresh and new.

And how about the catastrophe to labor in the garment industry if women should wear their clothes five years? But Miss Hawes's labor point of view is kind-hearted and muddle-headed, so that she is able to pity out-of-town exploited workers while a few pages away she says that she allowed a runaway New York manufacturer to open a factory in her name in Connecticut. When they proposed using her name to get rid of their labor contract, she says, "I laughed. My courses in labor problems at Vassar went through my head. I said, Go ahead." In the next chapter she is full of sorrow about the overworked people in the New York garment trades.

A trimming put on a ready-made dress to hide its bad lines is called "spinach." The thesis of the book is that all fashion is spinach, but that style is important. "Style doesn't change every month or every year. It only changes as often as there is a real change in the point of view and lives of the people for whom it is produced. Style doesn't care about the color of your clothes or whether your bag matches your shoes." Fashion's fundamental idea is, first, that all beautiful clothes are designed in France and all women want them, and, second, that beautiful clothes change regularly every six months.

Unfortunately for her thesis about fashion and style, this book is written not with style but with fashion—an imitation *New Yorker* magazine fashion. Still if you wear clothes, you'd better read it. It is packed full of good stories and facts that you ought to know. And that applies to men as well as to women. The best chapter in the book is the one about men's clothes.

HELEN WOODWARD

Not Interested

THE SUMMING UP. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

POOR Maugham! Is he not a warning and a dreadful object lesson—this author who forsook his art for artistry? Or so at least we might open our review of "The Summing Up." Sadly we might look back upon "Of Human Bondage," discuss the temptations of literary success, point stonily to Maugham's lack of social conscience, agree at the last that Maugham was certainly a competent entertainer, studding our compassion with lines from Mallarmé. The true case is, however, somewhat different. For Maugham's "literary will," if it does not alter very much our judgment of his work, does add to our appreciation of his mind. Not that it is an unusually penetrating one. Very little that he says has not been said before; much of it has been more strikingly expressed by Samuel Butler, to whom Maugham in his general philosophic views bears a strong resemblance. No, the merit of Maugham lies in his harmony and humility, his lack of extravagance and narrowness alike, his reasonable lucidity. "Anything is better than not to write clearly." It lies in his firm hold on ordinary life in all its aspects; it lies in his own self-knowledge. "I have more character than brains, and more brains than specific gifts." It lies perhaps in his very lack of extreme intellectual distinction—this theoretical brilliance which has, I suppose, led men astray as often as not.

"The Summing Up" is an intelligent and civilized book, an amusing one (there is a nice episode in which Maugham's severe young secretary corrects his grammar, and another in which Maugham dutifully follows all of Bertrand Russell's philosophic peregrinations), in many respects an illuminating book. There are fine discussions of the theater, literature, young people today, happiness, and worldly conduct in general. That "The Summing Up" is also a disappointing book in some respects is due partly to the author's intention. Too much of it is specialized or repetitious. It is rather as if Maugham had decided at last to free himself from the weary burden of entertaining which has rested so heavily upon his shoulders, once to please himself and not the reader. He chooses, again, to omit some of the details of his personal history which might have given his book a humanity and warmth it sometimes lacks. But in a larger sense we are disappointed not with what he has omitted from his book but with what he has omitted from his life. There is something curiously unsubstantial about Maugham's career. He writes, he travels, he writes. During all of this, it is true, he makes a continual and earnest effort to grasp experience in its vulgarity as well as its delicacy. An artist, he knows, needs force, go, bluntness, guts and beef. And Maugham as artist and as person remains detached, diffident, the spectator who wants very much to participate, seeking experience indeed but never quite sharing in it. The artist, Maugham says in a fine statement, is the only free man. But perhaps Maugham's bondage lay in freedom.

Maugham may sound a little too respectable. He has his surprises. While he is both shrewd and generous in his views on human life today, there is remarkably little in "The Summing Up" concerning the social system under which this life is lived, perhaps no more than three or four pages. On one of them, however, is this: "We live now on the eve of great revolutions. I cannot doubt that the proletariat, increasingly conscious of its rights, will eventually seize power in one country after the other, and I never cease to marvel that the governing classes of today, rather than continue a vain struggle against these overwhelming forces, do not use every effort to train the masses for their future tasks so that when they are dispossessed their fate may be less cruel than that which befell them in Russia." It is not that Maugham has not considered the issue of social justice. He has considered it, calmly and intelligently, and having arrived at the logical answer, he moves on to his next novel. He is not interested.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Novel-with-a-Purpose

THE BROTHERS. By H. G. Wells. Viking Press. $1.50.

WELLS'S playful fancy, which once jumped blithely through the hoops of time, space, and human invention, has long since dwindled to the point where readers must cudgel their brains to supply the story. Number three of his new series of short novels-with-a-purpose uses the war in Spain as a rather smudgy, hastily sketched backdrop for a semi-allegory on the political nature of man. Brother B leads the right, Brother R the left. To achieve their brave

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new world, stripped of the "defensive hate systems" of communism and the corporate state, the two determine to end hostilities and pool their common ideals. Fate splits the tale's core of coincidence and probability long enough to kill off the two men in a surprise attack from the left. This concession to political fashion will be approved by some of the militant young, who may object to the author's strictures on the faults of both sides and not easily accept his renewed drumbeating for "the coming scientifically organized state," which remains in a highly nebulous form.

Older readers, however, will recognize in the two brothers Mr. Wells's customary mouthpieces dressed up in fresh newspaper headlines. All through the book story is pretty much sacrificed to preachment—154 pages of amiably insistent monologue and dialogue as deliberately charted as the sex appeal represented by the sole woman character.

GOULD CASSAL

FILMS

Parade of Stars

"LIFE DANCES ON" (Belmont Theater) is not so much one film as seven. "Un Carnet de Bal," to call it by its French name, pretends to be telling a single story, but no one will believe either the pretense or the story. A lady whose husband has recently died discovers among his papers her first dance program, surviving from her first ball at sixteen. Realizing that she has never been happy, and being very rich, she commences a search for all the men whose names speak to her from the program, or at any rate for those seven who swore to her when she was sixteen that they would love her forever. She finds them, or finds their families; appearing each time in a new gown and fur piece, but smiling always the same sad, sweet smile as she peers into the eyes of the now much-changed lover. In the end there is nothing to learn from the visitations beyond the lesson that time changes everything, and there is nothing for Christine (Marie Bell) to do but take under her protection the young son of one Gerard and bring him up as best she can now that his father is dead.

It is a foolish fable, and one would weary of it if it were the reason for the film. Clearly it is but a device whereby seven French stars can be exhibited in a row, each of them in the orbit of his familiar style. The stars as such are brilliant, for they are the best French actors, and they have been presented with an appropriate variety by their director, Julien Duvivier. Françoise Rosay, the burgomaster's wife of "Carnival in Flanders," plays here the mother of George, who killed himself twenty years ago when Christine married another. The madness in her which is the result of that suicide is made slowly but surely apparent by a series of gestures and exclamations so expert as to inspire in the audience resentment against any machinery that will end the episode and bring the next one on. It in itself is good, with Louis Jouvet, the padre of "Carnival in Flanders," playing a corrupted night-club owner. We leave him for a monastery where Harry Baur has been endeavoring all these years to forget Christine, and in his way succeeding. Then we fly to the highest Alps and ski with Pierre-Richard Willm, who has taken to snowy nature since he could not have Christine. After that there is the Midi, where Raimu, who once confided his vast political

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ambitions to our heroine, must be content as mayor of a little town and as the husband of his fat cook; this old lover is very funny for a change, and it was wise to introduce him here, particularly since the sixth one, Pierre Blanchard (the Raskolnikov of "Crime et Châtiment"), is a run-down epileptic doctor with a questionable practice in Marseilles, and in the bargain is about to murder his unspeakable slattern of a mistress. The seventh lover, Fernandel, is pure clown: a hair-dresser who still believes himself adept at card tricks and who puts on for all occasions a most amusing monkey face. They are without exception brilliant, these stars, and the fragments of sky which they adorn are among the things most worth going to any theater and seeing. It is perhaps obvious, however, that an integrated firmament would have been still better. M. Duvivier may wish to try it again; in which case I hope he can persuade his seven headliners to collaborate in the telling of a single credible tale, even though one of them has to be a butler and another a policeman—or two of them, quite possibly, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

"Storm in a Teacup," an English film at the Little Carnegie, is diverting somewhat after the fashion of "Mr. Deeds," and also is worth seeing; though at the end it justifies its title so well as to descend into rather desperate silliness.

MARK VAN DOREN

DRAMA

"The Sea Gull"

PERHAPS the Moscow Art Theater and its famous method, reaching across time and space, are responsible for the fact that even the Lunts do not turn Chekhov's "The Sea Gull" into a starring vehicle for themselves. In any event they certainly do subordinate their roles to that whole which the author was so anxious to make all important, and that is one of the many reasons why the production which the Theater Guild is sponsoring at the Shubert Theater seems to me as satisfactory a re-creation of a standard play as it has ever been my privilege to see. Neither Miss Fontanne in the rather flamboyant role of the aging actress nor Mr. Lunt in the less spectacular role of the weary novelist is any more prominent or, for that matter, any better than Richard Whorf as the tortured Constantine or Sydney Greenstreet as the retired official who believes that his failure ever to do anything he wanted to do should make his reluctance to die more legitimate as well as more interesting than the reluctance of anyone else.

It is, of course, conventional to say that "The Sea Gull" is a study of a dying society whose members devote themselves exclusively to futile self-analysis for the simple reason that there is nothing else on earth which they could do. That judgment is indubitably correct as far as it goes, but a criticism which rested content with establishing nothing more would be a criticism which completely overlooked the fact that the characters are not merely futile but, what is more important, also interesting and pathetic and absurd in some curiously endearing way. It would be a criticism which achieves nothing except a cliché while engaged in the consideration of a work of art which is remarkable for the fact that it contains not one single cliché either of thought or incident except those which are deliberately intro-

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duced for the purpose of gentle ridicule. There may be nothing to be said about the futility of these people except that it is sufficiently accounted for by the society in which they lived. But that does not account for the fact that they are also subtle, sensitive, and utterly charming. Perhaps any dying society inevitably produces futile people, but it is not clear that it must with equal infallibility produce sensitive or charming ones, and the play is at least as much a play about sensitivity and charm as it is a play about inevitable futility.

It is also, I think, about a fact which even the personages, for all their self-analysis, are not aware of—the fact that they are all in a dilemma which is both funnier and more hopeless than any of the individual dilemmas they are so busy examining. Each is anxious to explain his problems and his misfortunes to each of the others; each wants the peculiar urgency of his needs, the peculiar bitterness of his situation, to be understood by everyone else and to be savored by all as he savors it himself. But unfortunately, where everyone wants to explain no one is particularly interested in understanding.

These prisoners of their egotism meet only other prisoners confined within the walls of other egotisms. The play is full of talkers but it has no listeners. Everyone is too interesting to be interested, too charming to be charmed. If there were not an audience to overhear, it would all be wasted. For though so able a group of self-analyzers was never gathered together anywhere else—except perhaps in one of Chekhov's other plays—it all ends with no member knowing the other any better than he would have known the dumbest and the most inarticulate of human creatures. Each holds a mirror up to his own soul, but no one except himself ever looks into it.

So far as I can judge from a single hearing, Stark Young's new translation is remarkably successful not only in achieving beauty of language but also in maintaining that elegiac tone which unifies the whole. "The Sea Gull" is not a mixture of comedy and tragedy, though the temptation to make it that—or rather the difficulty of keeping it from seeming that—must be great. Neither the spirit of tragedy nor the spirit of comedy could include all the variety of incident and character which the play presents. They can only be included within some mood less downright than that of tragedy or comedy, and one of Chekhov's originalities was just his success in creating such a mood. Mr. Young, I think, is singularly successful in finding words and rhythms and tones which preserve it.

"All the Living" (Fulton Theater) is based on a recent book about the insane, and in spite of the almost too obvious attempts of the author as well as of the producer to make it instructive I found myself reminded of the fact that amusement seekers in the eighteenth century used to pay admission to Bedlam in order to observe the captive lunatics there confined. The play is quite remarkably successful in creating the atmosphere of the asylum and also in extracting both horror and a kind of grisly humor from the case histories exhibited, but those responsible evidently felt that they needed both a plot and a message and proceeded rather mechanically to devise both. The trouble with the plot is that it is a perfunctory love story, and the trouble with the message is that no one seems quite sure what it is. Several characters start at various times to make speeches, but it is still not clear to me just what is wrong with the treatment of the insane or just what the authors think we ought to do about it.

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Letters to the Editors

Of Time and the Flivver

Dear Sirs: I appreciate Margaret Marshall's cordial review of "The Flivver King," and I hope she won't think me fussy if I discuss one point with her very briefly.

I had something to say that I thought was important—a story to tell; and I told it with the utmost simplicity, so that a child could read it. Now Miss Marshall compares it with "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and says that the latter is art, while "The Flivver King" isn't. This interests me greatly, because all my life I have heard "Uncle Tom's Cabin" cited as the perfect example of propaganda that couldn't possibly be art.

When I was a small boy we all read "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn"; we were thrilled, but I doubt if any critic of those days would have called it art. We also read "Gulliver's Travels" and "Robinson Crusoe," and the critics would have told us those were art, but we didn't know any critics.

You see, Miss Marshall, it is a question of the passage of time. May you live fifty years more, and see the day when some writer is defending an unpopular cause with a simple and human story, and the critics tell him that his work is effective for the moment, but of course it isn't art like "The Flivver King"—and "The Jungle" and "Oil" and "Boston."

UPTON SINCLAIR

Pasadena, Cal., March 22

Spain Needs Ambulances

Dear Sirs: A number of our ambulances in Spain have been blown to bits by fascist bombardment; one of our ambulance drivers was killed, and two American nurses were wounded.

On March 15 my committee received an anguished appeal from Spain calling for funds with which to purchase 140 ambulances, now available in Paris, for immediate dispatch to the Aragon front. Hundreds of wounded Loyalist soldiers were reported left to die on the battlefield for lack of ambulances to save them. By nation-wide telegraphic and local telephonic appeals to sympathetic individuals and organizations, we succeeded within forty hours in raising funds for the purchase of ten ambulances.

I appeal to the readers of *The Nation* to contribute what they can to meet this desperate need. Men are dying in Spain for our common cause. There is little that we can do to match their sacrifice. Whatever we can do must be done.

HERMAN F. REISSIG,
Executive Secretary, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

New York, March 31

Vive la France!

Dear Sirs: On the question of the relative responsibility of France or Britain for the triumph of "Hitlerism" in Central Europe the contention of Professor Albert Guérard has received irrefutable confirmation in the march of events, and ample, though probably unconscious, vindication from Robert Dell himself in his article on Chamberlain's Treason.

Neville Chamberlain's aim, we read there, "is an understanding with Germany and Italy into which he hopes to *drag* France." The italics are mine; the little verb is a spotlight on the whole course of British policy since the war. That policy has been dictated by exclusively "British interests," as those interests are understood by the old guard of landed, industrial, and financial magnates who are the "front benchers" of whatever government sits at Westminster.

Nor can one miss the psychological-political significance of the contrast between the sobriety and moderation of Professor Guérard's statement of the case for France and the animus of Mr. Dell. One recalls that it was Britain that held a khaki election to the Lloyd George slogans of "Hang the Kaiser" and "We'll squeeze 'em till the pips squeak." The latter promise was kept when Clemenceau was induced to agree to the inclusion of war pensions in the Wilsonian "reparations," a distortion of their legitimate object that increased the British and lowered the French percentage while it burdened Germany with an "astronomical" indemnity.

What Mr. Dell dignifies with the name of a popular "revolt" against Hoare in 1935 was merely a clamor over peace that swiftly subsided into acquiescence in a foreign policy persistent in its perfidy to democracy, whether democracy is fighting for its life in Spain or seeking its social realization in France.

Toronto, March 15 F. V. KEYS

Best Made Is Union Made

Dear Sirs: In supplying you with the list of union manufacturers of lisle stockings—printed in your issue of March 26—I inadvertently omitted the name of the Best Made Silk Hosiery Company, which manufactures a union-made lisle stocking. The Best Made stocking is one of the few which carries the union label.

LAWRENCE ROGIN

Philadelphia, March 28

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